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THE

HISTORICAL WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. NICHOLAS FRENCH, D.D.

BISHOP OF FERNS, &c. &c.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING NOTICES, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE, OF THE IRISH COLLEGES OF LOUVAIN.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING

THE BLEEDING IPHIGENIA,

THE SETTLEMENT AND SALE OF IRELAND,

LETTERS, &c. &c.

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TO

SIR COLMAN MICHAEL O'LOGHLEN,

BART.

OF DRUMCONORA, IN THE COUNTY OF CLARE,

I DEDICATE

THIS EDITION OF THE WORKS OF

DOCTOR FRENCH,

AS

A SMALL AND INADEQUATE TRIBUTE OF RESPECT

AND ESTEEM

FROM HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

THE editor of this little volume intended bringing out an edition of the works of DR. FRENCH in a large form, and had made arrangements with his publisher for that purpose; however, the latter gentleman having been requested by influential persons to adopt a cheaper, and consequently more general mode of circulation than that previously intended, and the belief that the distinguished author himself, if alive, would have published his works in the same manner, were considerations which at once induced the editor to alter his mind and to make these celebrated Tracts a volume of the "Library of Ireland."

This is, perhaps, one of the first attempts that has been made in this country to place reprints of scarce and valuable works, materials of history, within reach of the people; to introduce and popularize among them a

knowledge of these original productions. It may be to the neglect of this, that we can trace our deficiency in good historical literature, not to any natural lack of taste for such a literature among us; on the contrary, that taste has ever been fresh and buoyant; otherwise it never could have endured the continued ill-treatment to which it has been subjected.

History, to be readable, must be graphic; it must be a finished picture of the past; no thoughts, sentiments or ideas, costumes or manners, no more than facts, must be borrowed from the present. In reference to the art of composition there is a great analogy between the labours of the historian and those of the painter; the latter wants something more than a mere incident to make a picture—he must take innumerable tints from nature itself; he must be familiar with his máterials and then labour to produce harmony and correct design. And so it is with the historian; he must have something more than a list of battles and a regal obituary before him; he must have all the features and

characters of the men and times of which he writes embodied in his narrative; and how can this be effected without a deep and incessant study of old original productions, cotemporaneous with his period, and many of which are scarce or inaccessible? If Leland, Warner, O'Halloran and others, whose industry is too well proved by their immense quartos, had employed themselves in collecting materials for history rather than in compiling, they would have done more for their country, and its "history would not remain to be written." If Vallancey had done so, and made his series a "COLLECTANEA" of this sort, and not, with one solitary exception,* a depository for the most absurd speculation, then his reputation and motives would be less doubtful than they are, and his vanity never spoken of. Nor is it alone necessary to re-print works of the class of which we speak, they

* The Law of Tanistry, and its illustrations in the first volume of the "Collectanea," the only valuable paper in the work, was written by Dr. O'Brien, bishop of Cloyne. See O'Donovan's "Irish Grammar," introduction, page 58. Perhaps another exception may be added, namely, Sir H. Pier's description of Westmeath, also in vol. 1 of the "Collectanea."

must be cheap that they may be useful. How can the historical student in Limerick or Galway get access to the "*Veteres Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*," of Dr. O'Connor, valuable as they are? It is impossible to expect it. The use made of a book, as we have just said, will be measured by its price; and in our own literary experience we have, unfortunately, too many proofs of the truth of this proposition.

Vallancey's works and Walker's bards are the only two books on Irish history that were published in very cheap editions; and sad it is to see, how many a poet and romancer, sculptor and painter, led astray by their deceptive contents, has effected little beside a fruitless exercise of genius. Even at the present moment, there are men who draw more material from Walker than from Hardiman—and who can compare them?—simply because the writings of the former are more accessible than those of the latter.*

* A new, cheap, and corrected edition of "Hardiman's Minstrelsy" is anxiously looked for; we trust, the respected author will speedily prepare one.

Unfortunately, authors in these countries, in many instances, think it derogatory to their fame and reputation to bring out their works at first in a cheap and accessible form; and consequently many of them never live to see any effect produced by their writings. How different is the fate of the Continental literary men! Their works are in countless editions;* their popularity increases, and they live to receive and to enjoy wealth, honour, and the gratitude of their country; while some of ours have to pine in misery and want, and their learning or ability is not ge-

* The editor of this volume lately made some inquiry as to the relative prices of printing in this country and Belgium; there is no such difference, as one would suppose, judging from the price of books in both countries. There is a great difference, no doubt, in the price of paper, and it may be well to consider how far it would be advisable, in these free-trade times, to lessen the burthens upon this article. But, it is neither to the paper or the printing that the great success of the foreign book-trade is to be traced, but to the spirit of the publishers who print long editions and consequently can sell cheap. Curious and interesting results in literary statistics might be arrived at, by a comparison of the editions of Thierry, Thiers, Michelet, and other French historians; with those of Hallam, &c. The writings of the former are in the hands of every Frenchman; I do not suppose there are five copies of the "Middle Ages" of the latter

nerally discovered until they are on the brink of the grave, or, perhaps, mouldering in ashes.

The growing taste for Archæology and antiquities among us, is too intimately connected with what we have been saying, to pass it by in silence. But it is not so much the increased study of these subjects, valuable though it be that we look to with pleasure, as to the *purification* of taste, and the desire manifested at every opportunity to correct former errors, or excesses. This purification is most gratifying, and must, in a great measure, be traced to the writings of a distinguished man, Mr. George Petrie, to whom this country is deeply and increasingly indebted. And again, here

to be found through the popular Reading Rooms of Ireland; true, that it is in the eighth edition and sells for £1 4*s*., but, if its price was 12*s*. it would now be in its twenty-eighth edition and accessible to all, rather than in its eighth. Mr. Knight, of London, has done more than any man in England towards the publication of cheap and valuable literature. Mr. Chambers has been also usefully employed in the same way, in Scotland; nor shall the fact of this book being one of Mr. Duffy's publications, prevent me from stating, that the country is deeply indebted to that gentleman for placing instructive and entertaining literature within reach of the very poorest class of an intelligent but impoverished people.

is a further illustration of our argument; for it is not to his learned and unequalled Essays in the generally unread Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, that these effects are to be traced, but to his unassuming, but much more valuable, because much more accessible contributions to the Dublin Penny Journal; a book, which has done immeasurable good among the people, and which the present writer is authorised in stating, Doctor Southey valued as a repertory of antiquities and history, higher than any other volume in his varied and extensive library.

Having been led into these observations upon the publication of historical materials, at much greater length than we intended, it now remains to say a few words about our author. The reader may be disposed to expect a life of Doctor French preceding his works in this little volume; and so it should be, had it not already appeared in the "Library of Ireland," from the able pen of Mr. M'Gee. Whatever facts escaped that gentleman's diligence, and they are few, will

be found in the Introduction. However, as a substitute for the memoir, the editor has thought it not an unfitting opportunity to give to the public some description of the Irish Colleges of Louvain, principally because the following works were originally printed there. Dr. French has been intimately connected with these illustrious academies, not alone as a student, but as professor, president, and founder; and, further, he spent nearly half his life among the Belgians, and died an officiating Bishop in their Church. Independently of these reasons, it may be interesting to the Irish traveller to have some information about institutions, with which his countrymen were so intimately connected; and the more so, as the guide books which are put into his hands either make no mention of these Colleges at all, or whatever they say is, without a single exception, incorrect or delusive. Even Sir James Emerson Tennant, the only Irishman who has written upon Belgium, and a man of decided literary taste, and consequently congenial mind, dismisses

the subject with one solitary paragraph in his book upon that country, and even that is incorrect.

Of "The Bleeding Iphigenia" and "The Settlement and Sale of Ireland," some particulars will be found in a short prefatory note attached to each. These tracts present a curious picture of the thoughts and times of their author, and, I trust, will be received by the Irish people as the works of a distinguished prelate of their church, who, for fidelity to his country and his faith, was driven by the most cruel and partial tyranny, as an exile, into a strange, though not inhospitable land; and yet who, by his excellence and worth, was enabled to maintain the dignity of his position and the purity of his character, so as to induce the foreigner to inscribe upon his tomb the truthful and suggestive epitaph—"*Virtus in Augustiis.*"

In our notices of the Irish Colleges we have commenced with the Pastoral or Secular one, not that it was by any means more celebrated than the Franciscan or Dominican houses; for such is not the case; but sim-

ply, because about it are more conveniently grouped some introductory circumstances in reference to the University and city of Louvain, of which we desired to speak. It is to be regretted that none of the historians of the University, neither Puteanus, Andreas, Vernulœus, or Christianus á Langendock, come down later than 1667; and consequently the details about the Irish institutions, which were not then very long founded, are not as full as one would desire. However, all that is to be found in reference to them in these time-worn volumes, is embodied in the following chapters. The editor expected that, in the records of Louvain, which were removed to Brussells by the French, in 1797, might be found some interesting papers upon this subject. But, after a diligent search in the "Archives du Royaume," none were found to exist, except a table of the founders, &c., of the "Collegium Pastorale Hibernorum." Possibly, some valuable materials may exist in private libraries; but, even as to the probability of this, the editor cannot vouch.

It is to be expected that the following no-

tice of these institutions will be—not from any other cause, than their connection with our country—of some little interest. Louvain has been too little known, too long forgotten. And, if the editor shall be enabled, through the medium of this volume, to awake any interest in reference to that city, he will be amply repaid, having done all that he hoped for.

S. H. B.

S. H. Bindon

INTRODUCTION.

THE IRISH COLLEGES OF LOUVAIN.

CHAP. I.

COLLEGIUM PASTORALE HIBERNORUM.

THERE is no country in Europe with which the Irish have been more intimately connected than with Belgium. In every page of its history, ecclesiastical as well as military, we may read of our countrymen as distinguished for piety, bravery, and learning. No doubt, these are facts which must render a visit to that country, to one at all possessed of national feeling, an object of peculiar gratification; however, it is indeed a pleasure by no means confined to an Irishman. The simple and cheerful manner of the people, their habits of thrift and industry, the freshness and vigour of their social and political institutions, are circumstances which cannot fail to please and gratify the traveller, from whatever clime he comes. Indeed, the means of intellectual enjoy-

ment within reach are so varied and so numerous that it is quite impossible any one should lack.

To the historical student, or archælogist, most of the cities are quite gems of attraction, there is something in their sombre and venerable appearance that is very interesting. As you walk along the narrow streets of a Flemish town your mind refuses to associate with present things, and turns back at almost every object to the history and recollections of the past. Upon one side the venerable cathedral rises with its immense steeple—from above, its sonorous bell tolls like a peal of distant thunder, the ticking of its huge clock beats loudly upon your ear, and all contribute to bring to your mind the early days of christianity and martyrdom. As you enter, it may be from under a burning sun, sure to enjoy the cool and delicious shade that pervades the interior of the building, you are struck with the brilliant rays of coloured light glancing from the lofty windows of painted glass, as they fall upon some exquisite picture or statue of the whitest marble, and these also are calculated to cherish the feelings which I endeavour to describe. When, again, you find yourself in the streets, the drum is heard, the little fellow beats lustily before the "Hotel de Ville," the soldiers run to their parade, the silent sentinel stands as you approach him, and, listlessly turning on his heel, looks you in the face; but you refuse him even a thought, and remember the time when the

honest burghers met within these walls, (making their rulers tremble in their palaces,) and in rude and loud harangues vowed for liberty or death. There again, the old gates are before you, their huge grotesque hinges covered with rusty arabesque, reminding you not of modern warfare, but of the matchlock and grenade. Such are the objects and the associations that crowd upon you as you enter a Flemish town.

In any of these interesting particulars Louvain is not deficient; but, for the scholar there is a deeper, a further interest. The University and Colleges of this town were for centuries the most renowned; from out it came all that were distinguished in Western Europe. To associate with the memories of these great men, might we say, to make them live again, and as it were to accompany them through their halls and their cloisters, must, indeed, be to any man a pleasure.

Upon every side, as you wander through this town, are the scattered remains of its "colossal University;" almost every street is the "locale" of one of its fifty Colleges. In one may be seen the handsome porch with fluted columns; over the doorway you can with difficulty read "Collegium Mylianum,"—your view is interrupted by the Belgian tri-colour which droops gracefully from above, and further by a gilded tablet upon which you see "Tribunal de Police;" you will say, "*tempora mutantur.*" Another such entrance

will quickly meet your eye; above you see the time-worn visage of some sainted patron, underneath the figure, the word "Brasserie" shines in gilded letters—the place is now a brewery. Again, you hear the tramp of horses, you look curiously into the court-yard, you see a crowd of waggons and diligences; a small slender steeple rises, in a further corner, from the red tyled roof, and reminds you that the place was once more hallowed ground. These are some of the monumental remains of this great University.

After entering the town upon the eastern side, a few minutes walk leads you to the "Place du Peuple." Having turned to the left, and passing the "Hotel de Swede," you reach the "Rue des Orphelins." This street is about three hundred yards in length and extends down a steep hill; about its centre stood the Irish Pastoral College; the building is now converted into two or three modern dwellings of red brick, no external trace remains to remind one of its former occupants. There was a large archway, or entrance, of cut stone, with "Collegium Hibernum" over head, but this has been removed for years. Upon making inquiry, we found, that in the back part of the building there were some mural monuments; and, having entered, the proprietors kindly led us into their little gardens, and pointed at two stones, fixed rather high in the walls, with inscriptions, which were as follows:—

EXCELLENTISSIMUS D. JOSEPHUS
SPINELLUS. ORIUNDUS EX MAR
CHIONIBUS TUSCALDIÆ ET PRINCI
PIBUS. S. ARCHANGELI IN REGNO
NEAPOLITANO. ABBAS S. CATHARI
NÆ. NECNON. APOSTILICUS BELGY.
INTERNUNTIUS POSUIT DIE
27 JANY ANNI 1723.

EXCEL. D. IGNATIUS BUSCA
ARCHIEPS EMESENUS
PATRITIUS MEDIOLANENSIS
ABBAS. S. PETRI ET COLACERI
NECNON APOSTILICUS
BELGY ETC. NUNTIUS
POSUIT
DIE 27. JANII. 1781.

These little monuments were erected to commemorate the visitations of the Pope's Nuncios in the years 1723 and 1781. No other relique is to be found upon the premises—not a vestige that could remind one of our countrymen or their labours. At the bottom of the street there is a field, of about three or four acres in extent, with a small laundry attached; it formed a part of the College grounds, and we were informed that its rents are yet received by the "Recteur Magnifique" of the present University.

Before we allude to the Irish College any further, it may be well to say a few words of the great institution with which it was incorporated. John, the fourth duke of Brabant, being anxious to found a University in his dominions, fixed upon Brussells as the site; however, the magis-

trates and inhabitants were unwilling to accede to the proposal of their prince, fearing, as they said, the "danger of introducing a crowd of tumultuous youths into their populous city."* The people of Louvain were better minded, and petitioned that the offered boon should be conferred upon them, and accordingly it was so. William de Neefs was sent to consult the sovereign Pontiff upon the subject, and succeeded in procuring the papal bulls of the 9th of December, 1425. By this document, Martin V. authorised the dean and chapter of the Church of St. Peter, the magistrates, commonality, &c., of Louvain, to open an "étude generale" in all faculties, except that of theology; and at the same time conferred upon it all the liberties, immunities, and privileges, as enjoyed by the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig, Padua, and Mersbourg, from the Holy See. Armed with this authority, Edmund de Dynter, the secretary of John, attended at Louvain to open the College, which was done upon the 23d of August, 1426; and the public lectures commenced upon the 1st of September following.† The first professors were from Paris and Cologne; and, as a curious picture of the times, it may be remarked that one of these gentlemen, Jean de Groesbecke, received

* "Histoire de l'Instruction Publique, par Theodore Juste, secrétaire de la commission centrale d'instruction, en Belgique;" page 69.

† Chronique des Ducs de Brabant.

five large measures of Rhenish wine, as a "pot de vin du marché," before he undertook his duties in the professorship of law.

The course of study was completed in 1431, by the establishment of a faculty of theology by Eugene IV., at the solicitation of Philip le Bon; and soon after we find the university occupying a first place as a school of theology, and sending its representatives to the council of Basle, and subsequently, in 1551, to the memorable council of Trent.

In the following century the university rose to a great degree of prosperity, not alone supplanting its rivals, such as the academy of Dole created by Philip le Bon, and another which was erected at Douai* in 1559, but even equalling in celebrity the University of Paris itself. The cause of this remarkable growth may be traced not alone to the excellency and learning of the professors, but to the great privileges and immunities that were conceded to them and their students. They were exempt from all civic authority; the Recteur Magnifique was as powerful as a prince; kings, dukes, and nobles, vied with each other in making grants and founding colleges and professorships; so that, in two centuries

* This town, the university of which has been the *alma mater* of so many Irishmen, belonged to the Belgians, until the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, May 2, 1668, when together with Lille, &c. &c., it was yielded to France.

from the foundation, there were no less than fifty separate establishments, with their halls and teachers, &c. These may be classed under five different heads, namely, the theological schools, those of jurisprudence, medicine, mixed or general education, and the schools of the different religious orders.*

The tyranny of some of the Spanish Lieutenants, under whose dominion the country was at this time, and the consequent discontent and troubles, tended, about the year 1573, to retard the prosperity of which we have been speaking. This was increased by the foundation of a rival in the University of Leyden, on the 5th of January, 1575; this latter institution became the great pillar of the reformation, and boasting of such men as Grotius and Scaliger, soon appeared for a while to equal that of Louvain; however, after the peace of Ghent, the Archduke Albert and his consort Isabella Clara Eugenia, being entrusted with the government of Brabant, these difficulties began to subside.

Among the most distinguished in the university at this time, when as yet there was no Irish college founded, was our countryman Peter Lombard; he had been elected *primus* in the school of Arts, in the year 1575, and upon the kalends of September, 1594, was promoted to the degree of

* Nicolai Vernulæi; Academia Lovaniensis, editio 2da. cap. 7, 8. et. 9.

Doctor;* he was subsequently head of the cathedral church of Cambray, and finally Archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland. Dermot Hurley another Irishman, was one of the *alumni* of the university a little later; he also became a bishop, and suffered martyrdom.†

Albert and Isabella, of whom we have already spoken, having now taken the university under their special care, attended the course of lectures delivered in 1599 by Justus Lipsius; and peace having been concluded (1609) between Spain and the United Provinces, the court of Rome, joining the above illustrious personages, proceeded to re-organise the university, depriving the Recteur Magnifique of his criminal jurisdiction,‡ conferring at the same time more suitable privileges; and once more the institution rose to its former grandeur.

The fame of this University had even now reached the distant city of Limerick; and one of its citizens, Matthew Theige,§ attracted by the love of learning which was ever a passion with the Irish, reached Louvain. He took his degrees as A.M. in 1622. John Sinigh‖ of Cork was chosen *primus* in his class two years afterwards; but of these we shall hereafter speak.

Eugene Mathew, being at this time Archbishop

* Fasti academici Lovaniensis, p. 130.
† Idem, p. 214.
‡ Hiştoire de L'instruction Publique, p, 95.
§ Faşti Academici, p. 143. ‖ Idem. p. 144.

of Dublin, and knowing what his countrymen were suffering, more especially those of the ecclesiastical order, having seen that, by the magic touch of English law, the exercise of conscience had become the deepest crime, and love of Ireland the foulest treason, represented these sad events to Urban VIII., and pressed upon the sacred College the necessity of providing a seminary, with a view of preparing missionaries for the church in Ireland. The cardinals at once entered into his views, and accordingly it was settled that a college should be founded in Louvain; and by the Pope's bull of the 14th of December, 1624, the preliminaries were all arranged.—Urban himself having endowed it with a considerable grant, a house was purchased, and the college was opened; the course of education was rhetoric, philosophy, and theology, and the archbishop himself established a bourse for the benefit of the students from his diocese.

Nicholas Aylmer* was elected the first presi-

* In a catalogue of the books of Charles Major, canon of Ghent, and professor in the University of Erford, whose library was sold at Ghent in 1772, I find a book written by Aylmer, "*Descriptio Hiberniæ*," *Louvain*, 1650. I have never seen the book, and, I believe, from inquiries made, that it never found its way into these kingdoms. It was sold for a few centimes. *The Initium et exitus Geraldinorum*, by Dominick O'Daly, a Rosario, was sold at the same sale for something under ten pence; it now brings as many pounds. It is to be regretted that there is no public institution in Ireland

dent; and the Collegium Pastorale Hibernorum was soon one of the most flourishing in the university.

We have now approached the time when Nicholas French, the subsequently well-known Bishop of Ferns, joined the university of Louvain. Born in the county of Wexford* in the year 1604, he was one of the first students that entered the Irish secular college, over which his zeal, ability, and learning enabled him to preside as president.†

However, these prosperous days of the University of Louvain were not without their troubles; a cloud was gathering in the distant, which threatened the destruction of this honoured seat of learning. Upon the death of the Infanta Isabella, which happened upon the 1st of December, 1633, the Dutch again resolved to attempt the subjugation of Belgium. A treaty, offensive and

whose librarian devotes attention to the collecting books of this class. English collectors purchase them freely, and we cannot help, in this respect, censuring our too obvious neglect of a national duty.

* Through the kindness of Mr. Francis Codd of Ballytory we are enabled to identify the birth-place of Doctor French. A MS. genealogy of the Rossiter family, with whom the Doctor was maternally connected, and which was placed at the disposal of the Editor, as well as the tradition of the neighbourhood, fix the locale at the residence of the gentleman to whom we are indebted for the information.

† Chroniques De St. Bavon a Gand, p. 53.

defensive, was entered into between that power and France, and their combined army of 50,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry, with a large park of artillery, entered the field. The Prince of Orange, on account of his intimate knowledge of the country, was appointed commander-in-chief; under him served Marshals Chattillon and De Brezé. Having beaten some few Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Namur, this immense force reached Tirlemont, and immediately attacked it. So small a town was sure to make but little stand before such an army, and, consequently, heralds were sent to the Prince of Orange, offering to surrender upon condition that the lives of its inhabitants (nothing more was demanded) should be protected. While this truce was carrying on, the besieged left the ramparts; and the enemy, taking advantage of the temporary inactivity, rushed in and occupied the town. The atrocities that followed are unequalled in the annals of war. The churches were burned, the ecclesiastics murdered at the altars, females, young and old, were torn by the hair in the convents, (where they fled for shelter,) and in the streets before their husbands, their brothers, and their priests. For three days those dreadful scenes continued; nor did death itself check the rage of the soldiery, for the very dead, bathed in blood, continued to be the object of insult and brutality. Upon the third day the confederate armies marched on, and upon the 20th of June,

1635, proposed to pass the Dyle; having now entered the heart of Brabant, all the country between Brussells and Malines suffered alike ferocities.

The inhabitants of Louvain now trembled at their approach, and as a brilliant sun rose upon the feast of the Baptist, it discovered to their affrighted view this ferocious army—flushed with all the pride and strength of continued conquest. The French occupied the country about the Porte de Brussells. Chatillon was at the convent of Zerbank; the division of Brezé occupied the farms of Diependael and Meilleraye; the artillery were drawn up at the "Chateau de Haverle," and the devoted city appeared without escape.

It may be well here to describe the situation of Louvain. It is surrounded upon three sides by a hilly undulating country, forming itself into lines like a series of waves, the closest of which is about half-a-quarter of a mile from the ramparts; these are low in comparison to the rising ground outside, and form but a weak, if any, defence. The natural features that we thus describe, gave an enemy fearful odds; from any point their artillery could shower its balls upon the city, and yet could be protected from sortie by the easy movements of the cavalry outside. The guns upon the ramparts could but badly reply to their assailants, and the only mode of defence the citizens could look to was, to storm the enemy's

position, to beat them off; and, then, what could a few regiments avail against 60,000 fighting men?

Perhaps the reader may be disposed to think that the details of this celebrated siege should not find a place in a work devoted rather to ecclesiastical than to military history; however, it forms so striking an event in the annals of the university, and besides our countrymen bore so distinguished a part in this great achievement, that we trust the digression, if it be one, will be excused.*

In this dreadful emergency the "Lovanistes" prepared for their defence; their entire garrison consisted but of four regiments, or about 4,000 men; one of these was exclusively Irish, and but recently formed,† and commanded by Thomas Preston, the afterwards well known leader of the confederate Catholics, and distinguished, as the Belgium writer says, "among his countrymen

* And further it may be remarked that, we have no account of the siege of Louvain, or the cotemporaneous campaigns in the Low Countries, accessible to the general reader, although our countrymen bore a distinguished part in these events. Mr. O'Conor in his "Military Memoir of the Irish," p. 68, says:—"From 1609 to 1653, I have not been able to trace them in any foreign service." A considerable portion of this blank, that he alludes to, is occupied by Preston and his brigade, and will make a new and interesting chapter for the future military historian of the Irish nation.

† "Relation Raisonné du Siege de Louvain," p. 6.

by birth, and among the Belgians by deeds of valour and renown." Two Walloon regiments and one German formed the remainder. The students and domestics of the university formed themselves into three cohorts. The theological students forming the first; those of the other faculties formed the second; and the servants composed the third.* Francis Jean de Robles, the "Conservateur des Privileges," placed himself at their head. The citizens enrolled themselves into five more cohorts. The defence appeared, really, little more than a forlorn-hope, yet the defenders burned with enthusiasm, and took their posts as marked out by the drawing of lots; and all were commanded by an old veteran, Anthony de Grobbendrock, in the 73rd year of his age.

The French having thrown up their out-works and approaches, had now reached the very "Porte de Brussells," where the Irish were stationed. They laboured with unceasing activity, and were only prevented from entering by the repeated sorties of Preston and his followers. At sun-set on the 26th, this brave commander examined well the position of the enemy, and having collected about ninety of the élite of his men, and twelve sergeants, he addressed them thus: "It is in vain, my countrymen, that we hold these gates and entrenchments, unless we present an efficacious barrier to the enemy, who now approach us

* "Histoire de Louvain, par G. J. C. Piot," p. 308.

by subterraneous passages, like caves; let us drive him from his retreats, unless we wish to be driven from here, and upbraided for cowardice in permitting his so near approach. Have you less courage than he, or will you hesitate to come and try, while he fears not to approach? Don't believe that he is more formidable because he is surrounded by earth; he is but the better exposed to your blows, and the more he trusts in his shelter, the more easily is he broken to pieces; his security but assures our victory. Pour upon him with as much bravery as celerity, and prove by his defeat how sacred in your eyes is the vow of a soldier. As for me, I shall watch upon the heights of the walls, least the very "coup de main" which we now prepare should be carried against ourselves by an attack from the other side. I will observe the movements of the enemy; but I will be the witness of your courage;—yes, in the midst of the men who now surround me."*

Preston had scarcely concluded this spirited harangue when his troops rushed upon the enemy. The trenches in which they were at work were filled with their own blood, and in the exploit the Irish lost but two men. The following night Preston made another sortie in which his son behaved with great bravery. The French, thus harassed in their labours, determined to come to

* "Relation du Siege," p. 9.

the attack more openly. Trusting in their numbers, they forsook their trenches and covert attacks, and openly battered the walls of the city. The Jesuits, who were acting as a corps of pioneers, had thrown up a demi lune* near where the Irish were stationed. The enemy endeavoured to carry this by storm; they found the defence more vigorous than their attack, and that pickaxes were as much to be dreaded as the sword. No less than three regiments were led on to the attack. The Irish were for a moment overpowered by a more numerous force. However, a body of Germans came to their assistance, and, with the Jesuits, returned to the combat, and drove back the enemy with considerable slaughter.

The Dutch were, meanwhile, endeavouring to effect an entrance or gain advantage at another side of the city. Colonel Eynhont, who commanded the German regiment, which was in the garrison, seeing that if the enemy occupied the "Montagne du Cynge," a rising ground which was neat, they could batter the city with considerable effect—determined to prevent this evil. Having collected some of his men, he pointed out the danger, and called upon them to do as the Irish had done the night before. "Let us teach," said he, "the enemy, as well as the citizens, that Germans are as brave as Irish." And at night-

* "Histoire de Louvain," p. 309.

fall out they sallied to their work. Before break of day the hill was properly fortified and manned, in fact, had become a part of the city defences, and out of the power of the attacking enemy.

The siege having now continued some days with unabated vigour, the garrison determined upon a grand sortie. Upon the evening of the 29th of June, 250 chosen men—Irish, German, and Walloons—crept out at different gates and met beneath a large tower, called "Vestooren Kost," and built upon the walls near the gates of Malines, Vilvorde, and Brussells. This was exceedingly serviceable, for from the top could be seen the movements of the enemy plainly. It of course became an object of attack, and three batteries had been playing upon it without material damage. The commander-in-chief was now above, and the brave and devoted little band lay crouched beneath in breathless anxiety. Preston was at the head of his men "with naked arms and drawn sword".* The time had now arrived. A small bit of paper was let fall from the tower as a signal of attack; and they rushed upon the enemy. Numbers fell before them—the ramparts were covered with the dead. They pursued the enemy, until his cavalry was brought up to check their onslaught, the students and the citizens came up, upon the other side, to the succour of their friends, and it ended in one of the most brilliant exploits ever

* "Relation du Siege," p. 14.

accomplished. The French asked a truce for four hours to bury their dead, it was granted, while the little brigade were in safety within the walls; the hostilities were not again renewed that night, the outposts were within a few feet of each other, they were tired of slaughter, and needed some temporary repose.

At break of day the fire was again renewed; the enemy's loss was so great that carts were employed continually in removing the dead. Upon this day some German forces had come to the assistance of the besieged. The Prince of Orange now having entirely failed in his attempt, was maddened with mortification and despair. He summoned the city to surrender, and vowed that he would treat it as he did Tirlemont, if the defence was further protracted. Upon a rampart near him he mounted red flags, a signal that no quarter was to be given; such a step was sure but to excite the besieged. A body of the Irish rushed out to tear down these insulting standards. And having gained the fort where they proudly floated, not a man or gun was to be found; the enemy had fled. And thus the siege which had commenced upon the 24th of June under such disadvantages, was ended upon July 4th by the disorderly retreat of the besiegers.

Of course this great victory was sure to excite emotions of the deepest gratitude toward the hand of Providence which had thus protected the

city, and accordingly all the inhabitants met upon the following Sunday to celebrate with solemn rites their miraculous delivery. After grand mass had been chanted at the church of St. Peter, the procession was opened toward one o'clock by the Capuchins marching first, followed by the other mendicant orders. The Recollects marched next in two lines, the one Belgians, and the other Irish, for there was now a convent for Irish as well as Belgian friars of this order at Louvain, and of which we will speak in the next chapter; upon former occasions the inmates of each house kept their respective places in whatever processions had hitherto been formed, but upon this occasion the Belgians wished to manifest the most cordial affection and gratitude toward the Irish for their fidelity and courage upon this memorable occasion, not alone in "military uniform," but also, in "the habit of St. Francis."* The different heads of the University and Colleges, and also those of the city followed in the procession after the Religieux, and formed an immense cortege, which, after proceeding through the town, returned to St. Peter's, and there again a further religious ceremony was performed. After this the inhabitants separated, and departing to the different quarters of the town, concluded the festival with the most unbounded rejoicings.

A little after this siege, Edmund Reilly, who

* Relation du Siege, p. 27.

was a native of Dublin, and rather advanced in years, (having been a parish priest in his own country), arrived at Louvain, for the purpose of studying moral divinity under the Jesuits. Having taken up his residence in the Irish pastoral college, he subsequently became president, not leaving it until 1641, when, returning to Ireland with recommendatory letters to Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, he was made by that prelate Vicar-General of his diocese,* and was also one of many, who, from the presidency or professor's chair at Louvain, reached episcopal dignity, having been subsequently elected Archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland.

The news of the difficulties which just now beset his countrymen, having reached Nicholas French, who was in his college at Louvain, induced him to determine immediately upon returning to Ireland to assist them with his counsel;† and having been appointed parish priest of Wexford, he became of such repute both for "elocution, behaviour, prudence and integrity,"‡ that he was chosen one of the representatives of that town in the assembly of the confederate Catholics at Kilkenny. Mathew Theige, of whom we have before spoken, was about the same time chosen Professor of Greek in the college of Busleiden, and having ri-

* Walsh's History of the Irish Remonstrance, p. 608.
† Chroniques de St. Bavon, p. 53.
‡ Walsh's Remonstrance, p. 613.

sen to further honours, was at last chosen president of the Irish Pastoral College. He afterwards bequeathed to the institution a sum of money for the benefit of students, who were natives of the city of Limerick. Upon the left hand side, and a little behind the altar of St. Peter's may be seen a handsome tomb-stone which marks his grave; it is inlaid with white marble, but the epitaph is almost obliterated by the tramp of persons visiting the cathedral. A few lines are yet discernible, enough to indicate the name and birth-place of the individual whose death it commemorates.

MATHÆUS THEIGE

* * * *

* * * *

LIMERICENSIS.

* * * *

It does not appear that John Sinnigh whom we have before mentioned, in connection with Mathew Theige, was ever a member of the Irish College; he became "Rector Semestris" of the University, an appointment of considerable honour, and only enjoyed by the most distinguished. In the year 1667, Walter Enos was president, and as neither the Fasti Academici of Andreas, nor the second edition of Vernulæus come any farther than this period, we are unable to give the names of his successors in the presidency. Any thing in re-

ference to the University, from this last date, must be collected from the general history of the city, and it is to be regretted that even this is so occupied with details of the wars of the time, that little or nothing in reference to the colleges can even there be found; it might, perhaps, have been possible, to weave the table containing a list of the Founders, &c. of the Irish College, which is given at the end of this chapter, into something like a narrative; however, it was thought it would be more acceptable to the reader entire as it was found.

It is needless here to repeat the events which drove Doctor French once more to return to Louvain; suffice it to say, that he was received as in a place which had been in youth to him a second country.* It is supposed that it was during this second visit he became president of the Irish College; subsequently he took up his residence at Ghent, and was appointed Coadjutor Bishop to M. d'Allamont, who treated him with the affection of a brother. He died in the latter city upon the 28th of August, 1678, at the advanced age of 74, and was buried at the foot of the grand altar in the parish church of St. Nicholas. A slab of the purest marble, and decorated with the cardinal's hat, armorial bearings, &c. in honour of his memory, has the following laudatory but truthful inscription:

* Chroniques de St. Bavon, p. 53.

VIRTUS IN AUGUSTIIS
D. O. M.
SISTE, VIATOR, AUDI, LEGE, LUGE,
HIC JACET
ILLUSTRISSIMUS AC REVERENDISSIMUS PRÆSUL
NICOLAUS FRENCH
FERNENSIUM IN HIBERNIA EPISCOPUS HUMILIS:
SACRÆ CAPELLÆ PONTIFICIÆ COMES ASSISTENS:
SUPREMI CONCILII REGNI HYBERNIÆ CONSILIARIUS,
AB EODEM AD INNOCENTIUM X. PAP CUM AUTHORITATE DEPUTATUS:
ILLUSTRISSIMORUM AC REVERENDISSIMORUM
EPISCOPORUM S. JACOBI IN GALLICIA;
PARISIENSIS IN GALLIA, AC DEMUM GANDENSIS IN FLANDRIA
COADJUTOR INDEFESSUS:
HÆRESIARCHARUM, AC HÆRETICORUM TAM VERBO,
QUAM CALAMO PROFLIGATOR ACERRIMUS,
COLLEGII PASTORALIS HYBERNORUM LOVANII ALUMNUS, MAGISTER, PRÆSES, BENEFACTOR
FUNDATA IBIDEM BURSA 180. FLOR ANNUE
IN PERPETUUM PRO CAPACIORIBUS
INGENIIS:
TANDEM EXULATUS SUI A DILECTIS, PATRIA,
EPISCOPATU ET GREGE OB FIDEM ANNO 25.
PRÆSUL EMERITUS EMENSIS PRO ECCLESIA DEI
INNUMERIS PERICULIS AC PERSECUTIONIBUS
CUNCTIS SEMPER GRATUS, OMNIBUS SPECTABILIS,
NON SINE MAGNO PATRIÆ SUÆ PRÆJUDICIO,
BONORUMQUE, SUSPIRIIS AC LACYRMIS
HOC MARMORE TEGITUR, QUI VERE FUIT
ANIMO PONTIFEX, VERBO ANGELUS VITA SACERDOS,
OBIIT GANDAVI IN METROPOLI FLANDRIÆ:
ETATIS 74., EPISCOPATUS ANNO 30.
INCARNATIONIS DOMINICÆ 1678. MENSIS AUGUSTI 23
REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

His funeral oration was, upon the 19th of July following, pronounced by Thomas Stapleton, who was also an Irishman, and one of the most distinguished scholars at Louvain; upon several occasions he was elected to the greatest academical dignity that could be conferred, namely, "Recteur Magnifique" of the University. This latter individual was a native of Fethard in the county Tipperary, and the grandson of Thomas, lord of Thurlesbeg, Knockane, Neveagh, and Karrighine in the same county; his mother was Eleanor Meagher, and, strange to say, his grandmother's name was Meagher also, being Honora Meagher of Barnagne.* Doctor Stapleton died in the Irish Pastoral College, upon the 14th of August, 1694; he granted by his will a large sum to this institution, having founded no less than seven bourses for Irish students with some limitations in favour of his kindred, &c. &c., although president of the "Collegium Mylianum," which consequently might have expected his favour.

His friends erected a very handsome monument to his memory, which may be seen at the left hand side as you enter the church of St. Peter. A large slab of black marble is inserted in the wall bearing an epitaph. Over head is a finely executed bust in white marble, two large allegorical figures stand at either side, and a drapery falls gracefully from above, contrasting ef-

* Chroniques de S. Bavon, Vol. ii. 7.

fectively with the black slab which bears the inscription which runs thus:

D. O. M.
ET MEMORIA
VIRI CLARISS. D. THOMÆ STAPLETONI,
FIDARDIENSIS IBERNI PRESBYTERI
JURIS UTRIUSQUE DOCTORIS
ET
S. CANONUM PROFESSORIS ORDINARII,
HUJUS ECCLESIÆ CANONICI SENIORIS,
AC COLLEGII MYLIANI PRÆSIDIS,
ACADEMIÆ VICIBUS DENIS
RECTORIS MAGNIFICI,
HIC SEPULTI
HÆREDES AC EXECUTORES
TESTAMENTI ET PIÆ FUNDATIONIS EJUS,
POSUERUNT.
OBIIT SEPTUAGENARIO MAJOR,
XIX. KAL. SEPTEMB. CIↃ. IↃC. XCIV.
REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN.

Toward the close of the 17th century, clouds appeared to darken too thickly over the University and Colleges of Louvain. The ambition of Louis XIV. led him into many attempts for the conquest of the Low Countries; the city of which we are speaking was several times threatened by French armies, the University doors were thrown open, and the distracted students driven to work at the fortification and defences. These troubles increased upon the death of Charles II. in the year 1700; the war of the succession then commenced; the Count d'Anjou the son of Louis having been placed upon the throne of Spain, the occupation of Flanders and Brabant was an event sure to follow; Louvain was taken by

the French, and the river Dyle flowing through the city was made a line of numerous defences. The University and its fifty colleges, the chapels and convents were hastily turned into magazines and stores filled with provisions. England, Germany, Prussia, Denmark, and Holland confederated to beat down this usurpation; the French were beaten by Marlborough upon the plain of Ramillies; the people of Louvain declared against them also, and in favour of Charles III.; and thus they were finally beaten out of the country.

In gratitude to the Lovanistes, whose spirited conduct upon this late occasion, had a very animating effect upon the other citizens, and inhabitants of the country, Charles presented them with a golden key, which is preserved among them to the present day as a valued relique.

The commencement of the reign of Maria Therese was the signal for further aggression upon the part of the French. Louvain and other cities fell into their hands, and continued so until the year of 1749. From this period the country enjoyed some repose, and the empress conciliated the feelings and affections of her people.

Many relatives of Thomas Stapleton, were from time to time professsors and students at Louvain; there were some of his own name, besides others maternally connected. His nephew William Smith, also from Tipperary, was a licentiate in Law, and died in 1702; he is buried in the chapel of St. Livin. Another relative, Mr. John

Kempt, was president of the Irish College in 1756. About this period there were many claimants, and consequently disputes, in reference to Doctor Stapleton's bequests. Members of his own, and the Power, Meagher, and Ryan families all thought themselves entitled to the privileges conferred upon his kindred.

In the "Archives du Royaume," at Brussells, there are quantities of papers in the Latin, French, and Flemish languages, being statements, petitions, pedigrees, &c., that were laid before J. B. Marchant, and the other visitors, appointed to look after the Stapleton foundations, and some of them addressed to Maria Therese herself. Nothing of interest to the general reader, is to be found among them, and but one English document; which is here given; it is a letter addressed to the President of the Irish College, by one of the members of that institution, after his arrival in Ireland. It presents an interesting picture of what the Roman Catholic clergy suffered in this country at so late a period, and the happy and contented spirit with which they bore the many privations to which they were subjected.

Upon the back is the following superscription:—

"*To Mr. Kent, worthy President of the Irish College at Louvain, Brabant, Flanders.*"

MOST DEAR AND WORTHY PRESIDENT,

I fear my long silence has given you some uneasiness,

my long passage and an ardent desire of throughly satisfieing your Reverence upon the commission you were pleased to charge me with, have hitherto robbed me of the pleasure of acquainting you of my safe arrival.

I left the Briel the 10th of 7 ber, and made the harbour of Corke without the least interruption the 26th of said month, for contrary winds obliged us often to visit both sides of the channel, particularly between the Isle of White and Havre de Grace. My books were seized at Cove, and sent to the Custom-house to be overhalled. I pleaded for 'em personally, and recovered 'em with the compliment of sending them by a porter, at their expenses, to my lodging. My pocket was so bare that I had not the 10 pence to write from Corke; and my family affairs were so deranged, that I required time to equipp myself for the journey to Carrigg. My first visit was to the Bishop; he ordered a universal change in my apparel, a new suit must be made, a vestment bought, and all utensils must be in readiness before I could be emploid, and even dreaded my dress would betray me to the resentment of the government. I wrote, in the interim, a letter of apology to Mr. Conway and Mr. Halliuane, and received an obliging answer to each; the former tells me that the Vicar Capitular desired a part of the emoluments of St. John's-Gate should be sequestered to revert to the succeeding Bishop who he presumes will be parish priest of said parish, but that he refused him.

I lately visited the Leatenant in the county of Kilkenny, and in the road called on Lector O'Connor at Clougheane, who assured me that Sexton refused to answer Lector Dwyer's invitation, and prefers his con-

dition in Waterford to the triennial broils of the cross. I dropped the compliments of the Mrs. Burks, near Clonmel, at Nelly Kent's house, a mannerly and well-educated woman, and prayed her to send their parents an account of his condition. I pleaded much for Martin, but in vain, for I was assured the blunt father will not remit him a farthing.

I paid my respects to Doctor Creagh, in Carrigg; he received me most politely; invited me to a dinner, and gave me faculties for his diocess; told me further, that he lately received a letter from you, and that if peace was concluded he would see you next spring.

Doctor Power's mother treated me most liberally at her house to an evening bowl, and enjoyed there the company of blundering Kenelly who is become as odious to the folks of that town as he was to the crew of St. Antony.

I had the honour to see your sister, and discoursed her and her husband a considerable time; she is little obliged to Doctor Creagh for his officious news in writing to you about her marriage, and greatly admires why you don't answer Mr. Power's letter of Clinstown, as you are not pleased to favour herself with one, she fears her marriage has offended you, and, indeed, I think that she, an only sister, is worthy at least of your correspondence, and that the husband is a prudent, industrious man; they are a fond couple, and keep the outside very decently. She has person, language, and education becoming a sister of your Reverence, and does not want other good qualities worthy of your attention.

I gave Mr. Stapleton your letter. He has not forsaken

the mammon of iniquity, neither has he publicly abjured his principles as you were informed. I strove to reconcile him, but he had his excuses; his opinion of the genealogy; that he saw Winifrida Meagher of Rodestown, and that consequently she could not be grand-aunt to Doctor Stapleton; further, that the family of Rodestown was not a branch of the Doctor's family. The St. John's assured me upon honour and conscience, that Ryan's doings (tho' he wished him well) were no better than patched work and imposition in the highest degree; and that the Leautenant was much blamed by Tom Hennesy for encouraging Ryan as he thought.

Father Power of Feddins died lately. Lector Farrell's life is dispaired off. Squire Wise has greatly reformed Lector M'Carthy; he gave him a suit of clothes, and desired him make his house his own. Doctor Creagh told me that Mr. Aheron parted for Brabant, otherwise I would cross the Craggy Mountains to execute the commission of my special friend, Doctor Brown, tho' now I do not despond of seeing his good brother often.

As to my own condition, I am promoted, without previous examen, to the care of souls in the pleasant district of Middletown, among a peaceable, reasonable, good people; and his Lordship was kind enough to procure me good lodgings *pro tempore*. I have but the dues of a coadjutor, tho' I serve the entire district, as my principal is old and of great bulk, and the walk is so cool, and the country so agreeable, that I do not find myself much hardshipped. His Lordship, indeed, professes vast friendship for you, and esteems very much your correspondence. He told me that he sent Mr. Clery his dismissorials, and constituted yourself Vicar-

General, with full power to give his subjects, residing with your Reverence, faculties when you thought proper. I beg, Sir, you'll be pleased to thank him for my promotion, as I believe it is at present the first place in his gift. Mr. Clery may know that I was to see his mother. I prevailed upon 'em to send him nine pounds; they were not very forward to relieve him, till I explained his wants, and assured 'em that he was priested last 7 ber. Mr. Lonergan's father is very ill of the dropsey, and lives with his brother. I discoursed Doctor Power about Will, and praised him highly to the Bishop, who is much presented in his favour since his acquaintance with him in Flanders; but the Doctor advanced nothing about his preferment, on the contrary, he told me he had no urgent necessity for help as yet. I am impatient to hear from my pair of philosophers. Pray, let me know their promotion, and how it stands with Doctor Brown, and not to forget Mr. Wise. Pardon, Dear Sir, the fault, if any I have committed; and, be assured that I shall eagerly snatch at any occasion to convince your Reverence of the esteem with which I am, Reverend Sir,

Your obliged, humble, and
Most obedient Servant,
J. CANGLEY.

D. S. Mr. Lonergan, Mr. Clery, and my brother may expect, by next post, news from their friends.

My address is at James Barry, gentleman, at Middletown.

Mr. Morison salutes you most respectfully.

Middletown, 9 ber, 1759.

Joseph the Second, who was now Emperor, and had succeeded Maria Therese, was by no means as fortunate as his predecessor. His introduction to the Lovanistes was accompanied by a supercilious rudeness,* which was by no means calculated to conciliate citizens, who, upon many occasions were the recipients of royal condescensions.

His measures in reference to the educational and religious institutions of the country are well known. One of the first acts of his reign, was to interfere with the privileges of this university. Several convents were suppressed, or their rights interfered with or curtailed. This, of course, was opposed by the heads of the church, and the country became excited. Pamphlets and songs, the ever sure heralds of organic or constitutional changes among a people, appeared in numbers ; and, together with even sermons themselves,† roused the "Patriotes" in defence of their religion, and brought about a revolution.

The unhappy author of these disasters, died in 1790, and was succeeded by his brothers, Leopold and Francis, the former having lived but two years. But our sketch is now drawing to a close. The demon of the French Revolution had got loose. The Austrians were beaten at Jenappe ; and the French general, Demourier, occupied Louvain. However the University yet lived among the wreck

* Histoire de Louvain, p. 354. † Ibid. p. 340.

which appeared crumbling about it; the "Lovanistes" resisted some measures imposed by their conquerors; and the French, having met with some reverses, evacuated Belgium. The country appeared now to breathe freely, but only for a moment. Pichegru and Jourdan were again on the frontier; they quickly occupied the country, and it became a part of the French Republic in 1795. Upon the 25th of October, 1797, the halls, colleges, &c., after a time-honoured reign of over three hundred years, were suppressed; their professors and students scattered, and their property confiscated. For months the road to Brussells was covered with huge military waggons, crowded with the most rare exotic, and hot-house plants, for Louvain was ever celebrated for botanical productions; the most costly and elaborate chemical apparatus were crowded one upon another, and broken to pieces before they went upon their journey. Scarce and valuable missals, church ornaments, illuminated MSS. &c. and books, were heaped in piles upon the carriages and were all carried away under the unbridled escort of a revolutionary army. A very few of these valuable treasures survived their removal, or reached their intended destination. Their destruction, rather than preservation, was the object. The conquerors appear to have been successful, and thus terminates the history of this celebrated University.

The following Table presents a list of the Founders, &c., of the Irish Pastoral College of Louvain, and was prepared by order of the Austrian government, in 1785, with reference to some of the changes which Joseph II. was at that time effecting in the educational institutions of Belgium. The original is to be found in the "Archives du Royaume" of Brussells. P. MACVE, Licentiate in Theology, was President and Recteur of the College, at the time of this inquiry.

MATHEW, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1624 founded a bourse of 2000 florins, which produced a yearly revenue of 48 florins, for natives of his diocese, being students in Theology and Philosophy; the collation was in the Archbishop of Dublin, Edward Purcell was in the enjoyment of this from 1784 up to the time of the visitation. The Archbishop founded a second bourse of 2,871 florins, the same year, producing about 100 florins yearly for his next of kin, in the first instance, and secondly for natives of the diocese of Clogher. Charles Mac Kenna held this since 1780. The presentation was in the gift of the Bishop of Clogher.

JAMES NORMEL, in 1653, granted 993 florins for students in Philosophy, Theology, Humanity, Law and Medicine. The Visitors and President of the College had the presentation; and, the grant was to be held by the founders next of kin in the first instance, and then a preference, in the following order, was to be given to natives of Clonmel, Lismore, Munster, and Ireland.—Edward Cantillon enjoyed this since 1784.

HUGH MAURICY, in 1680, granted 2,373 florins for students in the same departments as the last, and in the gift of the same persons; to be enjoyed by his next of kin in the first instance, and then in default, by natives of Galway, Connaught, Ireland, and lastly, Buygenhout, in Flanders. Patrick Rouland enjoyed this since 1784.

ROGER NOTTINGHAM, in 1692, granted 1000 florins

for the same studies as last, excepting Humanity and Law; and this was also in the gift of the same persons, with the Archbishop of Dublin, to be enjoyed by his next of kin, to the fourth degree; then by natives of Dublin, Leinster, and the parish of St. Nicholas at Ghent. Charles Finn held this since 1783.

Mathew Theige, in 1652, gave 5,702 florins for students in Philosophy and Theology, to be presented by the Visitors and President, to be held by the kindred of the founder, then by natives of Limerick, or in default by natives of Ireland. Held by Patrick Cleary and Edward Cantillon since 1780 and 1784.

Nicholas French, in 1683, granted 600 florins for students in Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Theology. The presentation was in the Bishop of Ferns and the President of the College; his next of kin had the preference, then natives of the diocese of Ferns, and in default, natives of Ireland. E. Ennis enjoyed it since 1781.

Thomas Hurley, in 1697, granted 3,200 florins for students in Philosophy, Theology, Humanity, Law, and Medicine. The presentation was in the President and Visitors of the College, to be held first by his next of kin, then natives of Limerick, Tipperary, Munster, and in default, the natives of Ireland. Held by Thomas Hurley since 1783.

Arnold Conolly, in 1715, granted 2383 florins for students in Philosophy and Theology, the presentation being in the President of the College, and to be held first by the next of kin of the founder, and then by natives of the diocese of Clogher, held by Charles Mackenna since 1780.

Paul Roche, P.P. of Wexford, as the executor of his uncle, David Roche, P. P. of Forth, in 1727, granted 6008 florins for students in Humanity, Philosophy, Theology, and the Arts, to be enjoyed by his next of kin, to the third degree, and then in order, by natives of theBarony of Forth, Wexford, and diocese of Ferns. The presentation was in the President of the College,

and P. P. of Wexford, provided he was a native of Wexford, and in case he was not, then, in his place, the oldest curate in the Barony of Forth, with two citizens of Wexford. Charles O'Brien and Mathew Cood held this since 1783.

Raymond Magrath, M.D., *in exercitu cæsari suæ majestatis*, in 1780, granted 9402 florins for students in Humanity, Philosophy, Theology, and Medicine, to be enjoyed by the next of kin of the founder. J. Maccabe and H. Maccabe enjoyed this from 1775 and 1779, respectively.

Edmond Trohy, merchant of Antwerp, in 1783, granted 4585 florins for students in Humanity, and all other studies. The Visitors and President of the College were the presentors; and next of kin, and in default natives of Tipperary were to be elected. William Britt enjoyed this since 1782.

Helen Duignan, in 1770, granted 7848 florins for students in Poetry, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Medicine, Theology, and public disputation. The Presentation was in the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Waterford, the Parish Priest of Clonmel, Mr. Mac Carthy, and the oldest heir male of the founder. J. Dogherty and Daniel Mac Carthy enjoyed this since 1777 and 1784, respectively.

Thomas Tyrrell, in 1771, granted 4800 florins for students in Rhetoric, Philosophy, Theology, and public disputation. The presentation was to be in the next of kin; this individual was, in 1785, G. F. Brown; the priviled persons were the next of kin to the sixth degree, and in default, natives of Westmeath or Ireland. Patrick Clinch held this since 1783.

Colomba Morgan, a citizen of Dublin, in 1777, granted 7044 florins for students in Philosophy and Theology; and also for two priests, natives of Dublin, with an obligation to say one Mass daily for the founder. The presentation was in the Archbishop of Dublin.

Patrick Ryan and Edward Purcell enjoyed this since 1781.

J. KENT, in 1781, granted 7007 florins for students in all departments to be held by his kindred to the fourth degree, and then by natives of Lismore and Waterford. The presentation was in the Archbishop of Waterford and the visitors and president of the College. Mathew Power enjoyed this since 1784.

* O'BRIEN, in 1769, granted 217 florins for Irish students in Philosophy and Theology; and 225 florins to an Irish priest to say Mass daily in the College Chapel. The Bishop of Cloyne and President of the College were the presentors. Patrick Ryan and Philip Daniel Mac Carthy held this since 1782 and 1784, respectively.

T. SULLIVAN, in 1699, granted 732 florins for Irish students in Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Theology, for his relations of the secend degree, provided they were born in Ireland. The presentation was in two Doctors of Theology chosen by the Rector in "Strict Faculty." John Fitzgerald and M. Sullivan enjoyed this since 1780, M. Sullivan since 1782, and Daniel Magrath since 1784.

FLORENCE SULLIVAN, in 1732, granted 1098 florins for students in Philosophy, Theology, Law, and Medicine, a preference to be given his kindred to the third degree, then to the O'Sullivans of Kerry, the Mac Carthys of Kerry, or natives of Kerry, Cashel, or Ulster. The eldest Doctor in Theology, the President of the College, and the eldest Visitor were the Presentors.

Independent of the above grant, the College was endowed by Urban VIII., by a M. Shinkel, and by Mathew Prosser, a merchant of Bruges, and native of Waterford, with sums making altogether about 8000 florins, besides the bequest of Thomas Stapleton, which provided for seven students in various departments, and to which we have already alluded.

CHAPTER II.

THE IRISH FRANCISCAN COLLEGE OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA.

THE IRISH DOMINICAN COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.

After leaving the "Rue des Orphelins" and the site of the Irish Pastoral College, we entered the "Grand Place," where the "Hotel de Ville" is situated, close to the Church of St. Peter. Although perhaps impatient to pass on, and view the scenes more immediately connected with your countrymen, the gorgeous beauty of this matchless structure, will arrest you for a while. It would be impossible to describe, much less exaggerate, its beauty. The front appears at a distance a little confused; the immense quantity of minute decoration produces this effect—it looks like a piece of the richest lace. However, it will bear the closest inspection, every window, every stone and angle is beautifully carved, the fruit of incessant labour and most correct design.

After leaving this, the finest specimen of Gothic architecture in Europe, you enter the "Vieux Marché." At the end of the street, there is a

large building yet occupied as a school, and now held by the Josephites; it was in it that Mr. O'Connell received part of his education, and the towns-people speak as if the honourable gentleman was not forgotten there. Proceeding a little further in the same direction, you descend the "Marché aux Pores," and at the bottom of the hill, where the market ends, you may perceive a small porch or entrance, not sufficiently large to admit a carriage, yet larger than an ordinary doorway. It is the entrance to what yet remains of the most celebrated of the Irish Colleges of Louvain, dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, and originally founded for Irish Friars Minor, of the order of St. Francis of the Strict Observance.

The little porch that we have described, is surrounded by a narrow band of cut stone. The following inscription is engraved upon the key-stone of the arch :—

COLLEGIUM
ST. ANTONII DE PADUA
1775.

This date merely records the erection of the entrance, for the College was founded near two centuries before.

The outer door opens at a touch, and you enter a little garden about ten yards in length; a narrow walk leads to another gate about the same

dimensions, and upon either side is a row of cedar and acassia. We rung the bell, and a "Frere de Charité," (one of the present inmates), dressed in black serge, the habit of his order, partially opened the door. Astonished, perhaps, at our intrusion, he was about closing it impatiently; however, the moment he heard that we were strangers, a new thought seemed to cross his mind, and the door opened to its greatest width. With downcast head he silently led us into the small waiting-room, and then bowing most profoundly, quickly departed.

In the little entrance hall, close by the door upon the western side, a small stone of greyish marble is inserted in the white-washed wall; upon it are inscribed the following lines, they are in commemoration of laying the foundation stone of the College upon the 7th of May, 1617:—

IN HONOREM
D. O. M.
SERENISSIMI PRINIPES
ALBERTUS ET ISABELLA,
ARCHIDUCES AUSTRIÆ
DUCES BURGUNDIÆ,
PRINCIPES BELGARUM
ECCLESIÆ HUJUS ANTONIO DE PADUA
SACRÆ LAPIDEM
ANGULAREM
FRATRIBUS MINORIBUS
HIBERNIS POSUERUNT
VII IDUS MAII ∞ IↃC XVII.

We had not remained more that a few minutes in the waiting-room, when another of the Brethren entered, no sooner had we mentioned the object of our mission, than he invited us to a full inspection of the buildings, and we proceeded to the chapel.

This is a long and narrow building, forming the northern wing of the college. The ceiling is lofty and arched. A small organ rests over the door as you enter, and before you at the end a plain altar. The walls and ceilings are as white as snow, and without any ornament, except a few small paintings at either side. The railing of the altar crosses the building, and close by this, upon the left-hand side, may be seen a small stone inserted in the wall, and about seven feet from the ground. Upon it are engraven the following lines, in letters deeply cut and gilded :—

Ill^{o} ac R^{mo} P.F. Florenti^{o} Conri^{o} Conacien. ord. Min. R. obser^{æ}.
archiep^{o} Tuamen. Pro^{æ}. Hib^{æ}. quondam. M. N. R
piet. docta. Pruda. max. eter^{æ}. memi^{æ}. design^{mo}
quo solicitante. pro resturada. in Hib. Fide. orthod^{a}
Hoc. St. Ant. a Padua Coll^{m} munificin^{a} Phil 3. Hisp. Regis
fundamentum est an. Christi ∞. iↄc. vi
Laboribus vastis fidci et patri^{æ} ergo fractus
Pie obiit in conv. St. Fran. Madriti. anno ∞. iↄc. xxix
xiv. Kal. Dec etat lxix. archiepts xxi
Huj^{o} coll. P. P. anno ∞. iↄc. liv quo ejus ossa
ex Hisp^{a} Translata et Hic memortalitatis premi^{m} expectat
grati posuere.

Close by the little gateway, which opens into the enclosure before the altar, a large stone forms part of the flooring, at one end of it a shield of white marble is carefully inlaid—the tracing of armorial bearing, may yet be distinguished; but even these will be speedily effaced from the constant walking; round the border of the stone are two bands of white marble, and in the centre an inscription in very large letter also inlaid and of the same material.

D. O. M.

HIC JACET UT VOLUIT
ILLMUS. AC REN. D. F. R.
DOMINICUS DE BURGO.
NOBILIS FAMILIÆ.
EX. S. ORD. PRŒD.
EPUS ELFINENSIS
IN HIBERNICA.
QUI PRO DEO AC REGE
SUO PLURIMA PASSUS.
PROFUGUS OBIIT
IN HOC COLLEGIO LOV
ST. ANTONII. DE PAD
FRAT. MIN. HIB.
DIE IST. ANNI 1704 ÆT 75
R. I. P. A.

Close to the end of this, there is another slab, somewhat larger, perhaps about seven feet in length; upon it is an epitaph with names sure to awake both sympathy and interest.

D. O. M.

EXma. D. ROSA DOCHARTY
DYNASTAR. INISONIÆ FILIA ET SOROR.
ALTI. SANGUINIS DEC. MOR. TEMPERa.
ET SPLENDIDIS CONJUGIIS AUXIT.
PRIMMA NUPTA INCLYTO HEROI
D. CAFFARO O'DONNELL
TIRCONALLIÆ PRINCIPIS GERMANO
DEIN EXCmo D. EUGENIO O'NEIL
CATHOLICI IN ULTONIA EXERCITUS
ARCHISTRATEGO UTRAMQUE FORTUNAM
EXPERTA ET MISERIAM RATA
CŒLUM STUDIIT BENEFACTIS MERERI
SEPTUAY MAJOR DENATA
BRUXELLIS 10. NON. ANNO MDCLX.
SUO CUM PRIMOGENITO HUGONE
O'DONELLO PRÆSTOLATUR. HIC
CARNIS RESUREm.

The remainder of the church we carefully examined without discovering any more inscriptions. The floor appears to have been recently repaired, the small marble tiling having been reset. With these the flooring is entirely laid down, with the exception of a broad way leading from the door towards the altar, and in which may be found the monument of which I have been speaking.

While engaged in the little chapel, the Superior waited upon us, having remained until we had finished. He then led us to his apartment,

rather a small room, with a flooring of red brick. The furniture consists of a table and a few chairs; a solitary canary appeared to be his sole companion, it fluttered almost to death at our approach, so unused to a stranger's visit. A few scriptural prints are hung about the room. After resting for some minutes, our attention was directed to a picture over the door which we had entered. It is a portrait of St. Patrick, of rather rude execution; underneath was painted the following line:—

"St. Patricius Hiberniæ Sanctorum insulæ apostolus et patronus."

Upon the right hand corner overhead, may also be seen, as follows:—

"G. D. Patricius O'Muledy, in honorem divini St. Patricii hanc dedit effigiem."

There is scarcely a town in this country that has not some monument recording the bravery of the Irish people. At Ghent there is an epitaph to Charles O'Muledy, descended, as it says, from "illustrious ancestors; he was by birth a soldier." In the little church which we are describing, close to the door, there rests the remains of an exiled hero. The inscription is as follows; wounded in the battle-field, he came to Louvain, to breathe his last among his countrymen:—

D. O. M.

HIC UT VOLUIT JACET
PRÆNOBILIS DOMINUS
DOMINICUS LYNCH EX NOBILI
LYNCEORNUM GALVIENSIS.
FAMILIA HIBERNIÆ. LEGIONIS
DE LALLY VICE COLONELLUS
QUI PLURIMIS PRO PRINCIPE
CAROLO STUART IN SCOTIA
PERACTIS ET HONORIBUS
POSTEA VULNERATUS IN PRÆLIVM
LAFFELENTENSI DIE 21ST JULY 1747.
OBYT LOVANY DIE 28TH
AUGUSTI EJUSDEM ANNI
R. I. P.

The apartment of the Superior, with the entrance hall, forms the western wing of the convent. The entire building is composed of three of these wings, forming the sides of a rectangle, with a court-yard in the centre, enclosed by a wall at the eastern side. The northern and southern wings are more extensive than the western; a small corridor extends all round the court-yard forming a convenient passage in wet weather; this is also laid down in small marble tiles. In the corridor adjoining the apartment of the superior, there are a few portraits of Franciscan Friars, and a large picture of St. Anthony conversing with some of the same order; upon the

lower corner of this picture the following lines are painted:—

"F. BON^ra DE BURGO GUARD^m FIERI FECIT
IN HONOREM SUI PATRONI ANNO 1693."

The "Frere de Charité" lately purchased this relique for about £8, and thus once more it is restored to its original destination; it would be well indeed if they were enabled to gather more objects of a like interest; but still better if the convent were restored to its original owners, namely, Irish Friars of the order of St. Francis.

As we were engaged viewing these pictures, we heard rather an animated discussion in the court-yard outside. For some minutes we were inattentive; however, the noise having rather increased, we began to think, how came such converse within these lonely wâlls? Upon looking out we saw two or three lads sitting upon stools busily employed in making shoes, others stood by and joined eagerly in conversation; half a dozen of the brothers were also in the group. Supposing that it was some ordinary work that was being done, we turned away to our own occupation; the discussion became yet more animated, the words "Francais," "Belges," and "La Liberté," struck our ear with loud and passionate emphasis. We looked out again, and the brothers called us over.

There we found the Professor General of the order in Belgium seated among them. The lads who

were so busily employed were the scholars of the convent; they were acting or reciting a little piece in preparation for the approaching examinations. Nothing could at all surpass the spirit with which they acted their respective parts; the witty expressions were so pointedly delivered, so naturally and yet so spiritedly, that the gravity of the monks was several times completely overcome, and they burst out in roars of the loudest laughter. The school here consists of several hundred scholars, although there are only eight of the brotherhood in the convent; and if the advancement and perfection in the other departments, be at all equal to what we had seen, they may indeed be truly proud of their pious labours.

Upon the small tiles in the corridors which we have been above describing, the following inscriptions are yet traceable. Some of them cannot be read without considerable trouble, and we regret to say that in a few years they will be entirely effaced. Some of these inscriptions are upon stones about two feet in length and eighteen inches wide, the remainder upon stones about a foot square; they are as follows:—

HIC RECQUIESCIT
FRANCISCUS
DE BOOLCHER
OBYT. 30. MARTY
1706.
R. I. P.

†

R. A. P.

* * * BAP.
O'DONNELL, JUB.
MISSIONEMERITUS.
PROVI^{e}. HIBER. C * * *
OLIM MINISTRAVIT
OB. 3 APR. 1714.
R. I. P.

---

†

V. A. P.

FRAN TULLY
S. THEO. L. R
EMERITUS ETC
OB. 15. MARTY
1715.
R. I. P.

---

* * * PETRUS MURPHY
PER PLURES ANNOS
* * S. TH. L
SEMEL GUARD
VIR. ILLUS. DOCTUS
ET * * * SUS
DE HOC COLLEGIO
OPTIM MERITUS
OBYT ANNO * *
DIE 5 JANRY 1730
R. I. P.

V. A. P.
JACOBUS CAHASSY
VIR VERE PIUS SUÆ
REGULÆ EXACTITSSIMUS
CULTOR. SŒPIUS COLLEGY
PRÆSES ET VICARIUS
24 AN. JUVENUM INSTRUCTOR
OBYT 14 X BRIS 1732 AN.
ÆTATIS. SUE 76.
R. I. P.

---

†
R. P.
BONAVENTURA O'DONNELLUS
T. L. JUB. HUJUS COLL. LOVANY
* * * *
* * * *
* * * *
DOCTUS. PATIENS. DISCIP
PLINÆ MONASTICÆ PRO
MOTOR. * * *
* * * *
* * OBYT DIE
28 AUST. 1754
R. I. P.

D. O. M.
HIC JACET V. P. SIMON
O'REILLY PHILÆ Lr.
BIBLIOTHECUS. ARCHIVISTA.
OCTAVIES OBIIT 26 8. BRIS
1773 ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ
31 RELIG. PROFs. 17
R. I. P.

JACOBUS MANNIN
OBIIT 15. 1776
PRŒSES
35 SACERDOTIS.

HIC JACET. U^{s} P^{r} JACOBUS
GORMAN. PHIL^{a} LECTOR
* * TUS. OBIIT. IN. FLORE
JUVENTUTIS DIE 19
APRILIS 1781. ETATIS
ANNO 29. RELIG
PRO. 10.
R. I. P.

D. O. M.
HIC JACET V. P^{r} FRAN^{s}
STUART BIBLIRTH^{s}
ARCHIVISTA QUEM
IN JUVENTUTIS FLORE
RAPUIT INVIDA MORS
DIE 22. 7 BRIS 1783
ÆTATIS SUÆ 27. RELIG
PROFS 8. SACERDOTIS * *
R. I. P.

The reader has now got every trace of his countrymen that can be found in the College of St. Anthony; not another line remains which can remind him that Irishmen once peopled these venerable walls. Perhaps, in our anxiety to describe these mementos and the interior of the building with something like accuracy, we

have overlooked the external appearance. This is not very striking, the high wall that surrounds the little yard which separates it from the street breaks and interrupts the view; however it can be seen to better advantage from the court yard in the middle of the building, or perhaps from the garden side, and in point of architecture it differs little from the generality of Flemish buildings; high walls of red brick, and almost upright red tiled roofs are their chief characteristics, and in these the college is not deficient; they look very picturesque, when at all relieved by timber—the green foliage contracting with the colour of the brick, and the high gable pushing itself up among the lofty trees. The most pleasing spot about the college, whether in reference to the view, or otherwise, is the garden; and the superior having politely waited our convenience now invited us to enter.

It contains about an acre and a half of land, and is tastefully laid out in squares, full of the finest fruit and vegetables; the red currants were particularly fine, grown upon the standard trees; one square was entirely filled with the richest dahlias I ever saw grown in pots, and each pot plunged in a larger one full of liquid manure. The river Dyle surrounds the garden upon two sides. The old "boucherie" of the convent is now occupied as a garden house, from it the convent is seen to great advantage, with its lofty walls covered with luxuriant vines; at the eastern

end, and separated from the garden, are the remains of the old printing house, it is the only part of the establishment not in possession of the present proprietors, and is now occupied as a ware-house.

While sloping along the walks of this interesting spot, and thinking of the days when Conry and O'Clery, Ward and Hickey, were here busily employed, the brotherhood joined us in the garden ; we seated ourselves under a chesnut tree, the superior was anxious to know whether the different religious orders in Ireland wore any particular dress, and appeared astonished when told that even the secular priests did not do so. After having remained some time with the "Freres de Charité," we wished them good by, and departed perfectly satisfied with our visit, and under many obligations to them for the civility and kindness with which they treated a perfect stranger.

Having now described all that remained of this college, the reader may be disposed to know something of its history. I regret, that there are no materials extant abroad, as far as I can discover, which would enable one to put together anything like a consecutive narrative upon the subject. There are no records to be found at Louvain, in reference to the College of Anthony, nor in the Archives of Brussells, where we anxiously hoped that they should be found. However, the reader is not to suppose that materials are altogether wanting for this purpose ; such is not the case.

The different publications that emanated from the members of the college during the 17th century, and the lives of the authors themselves are subjects of great interest. From this it will be seen that no college in Europe produced more within the same period, than that of St. Anthony; and if we remember that at the same time the Irish Pastoral College of Louvain, engrossed within its walls numbers of distinguished scholars, our countrymen, as did also the Irish College of the Dominicans; then, indeed, it will be seen, that if the labours of all be taken together, they certainly remain unequalled by any contemporaneous collegiate institutions that we know of, and remain a proud and lasting monument of the learning and zeal of the Irish Nation.

From the inscriptions we have before given, it may be seen that the College of St. Anthony was founded in the year 1609; the necessary funds were supplied through the liberality of Philip the Third, king of Spain and the Indies, and by the exertions of the illustrious Florence Conry, subsequently Archbishop of Tuam. It does not appear where the brotherhod resided in the city of Louvain, until the year 1617, when upon the 7th of May, Prince Albert of the Belgians and his Princess Isabella Clara Eugenia, laid the foundation stone of the present edifice. The fame of Conry both for piety and learning, was sure to make his college a point of attraction, for the most celebrated Irish scholars, of the order of

the strict observants, and consequently many of them speedily gathered about him, and the schools acquired both fame and reputation. One of the most distinguished of Father Conry's assistants in this undertaking was Hugh Caghwall, who was also raised from the guardianship's and professor's chair of his college, to the dignity of archbishop and primate, having succeeded Peter Lombard in the see of Armagh. Bonaventure Hussey, a native of Ulster, and a man "in great esteen, for his singular skill in the language and history of Ireland," was elected first guardian or president of the college. It is to his labour perhaps, with the assistance of the Fathers Conry and Mac Caghwall, that we are indebted for the first book printed in the Irish character.

These distinguished men, though at a distance from their country, were present with her in sympathy and hope; they longed to cherish and to foster their language, one of the great elements of a nation, and through its medium to speak words of comfort or instruction, from a foreign yet a friendly shore. In the year 1608, a small catechism in the Irish character and language, and written by Bonaventura Hussey, was printed at Louvain; a second edition of the same work appeared in Antwerp 1611. "The Mirror of a Christian Life," from the pen of Conry, appeared in 1616, and Mac Caghwall's "Mirror of Penitence," was published likewise at Louvain, in

1628. In the year 1617, Anthony Hickey, a native of the county Clare, was guardian of the college; upon the 17th of March, in the same year, Patrick Fleming joined the community, and after having spent some time at Louvain, proceeded to Rome, and upon his way thither was met at Paris by his countryman Hugh Ward. To this accidental meeting, may be traced some very celebrated works upon Irish ecclesiastical and general history. We allude to the "Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ," by John Colgan, and the Annals of Donegal, of Michael O'Clery.

Father Fleming, having pressed upon Hugh Ward the importance of collecting materials for the history of the Irish saints, proceeded upon his journey into Italy; every thing that could be collected in that country he transmitted to his friend, and afterwards, returning to Louvain, became a professor in the college. Ward having then dispatched one of the brotherhood, Michael O'Clery, into Ireland, with a view of gathering the accessible materials in that country, proceeded to arrange all that came to hand. During fifteen years Michael O'Clery was diligently and unceasingly occupied in his labours. For a period of this time Florence Gray, a native of Thomond, was guardian of the College, and perhaps to him may be traced some of the details of St. Senaan* that after-

* This Saint was Patron of a great portion of Thomond.

wards appeared in the "Acta Sanctorum." However, before the collections was completed, or before any portion of them was printed, Hugh Ward died in the year 1635.

Upon the death of Ward this great work appears to be suspended for some time. However, another of the brotherhood, John Colgan, a native of Donegal, having found the materials to his hand, arranged and committed to the Press these volumes of which we have spoken. The second is dedicated to Thomas Fleming, one of the Confederate Bishops, and who had been in early life Guardian and Professor of this College. We need scarcely remind the reader of the fame of this work; the editor was classed with Bollandus of the Jesuits, the most eminent divines praised it for learning and ability, and poets wrote in praise of the author.

QUI CUPIT HIBERNIÆ REGIONIS NOSCERE GENTEM,
ET CELEBRES TELLUS QUOS TULIT ILLA PATRES
QUID BREVIS USURAM FALLACEM CONTERIT ÆVI
SOLLICITA VOLUENS MENTE MANUQUE LIBROS
COLGANI CALAMUS PLURES COLLIMAT IN UNUM
SELECTUM EX MULTIS SUFFICIT ILLUD OPUS.

In the year 1667 there were about sixty students in the college. Among them were two sons of counts, two viscounts, and four barons, with many others of distinguished families. Four mission-

aries, whose labours are proverbial, were sent from this College into Scotland—Cornelius Ward, Paul O'Neil, Patrick Hegerty, and Patrick Brady. Edmond Cane, also of this College, suffered martyrdom.*

While Michael O'Clery was employed as we have seen—many documents upon the general history of Ireland of course presented themselves, and induced him to undertake, with some little assistance from others of his order, the herculean task of collating and compiling a body of annals upon the general history of the country. These he carefully transcribed, and this is the MS. generally called the "Annals of the Four Masters," and which is now in course of publication.

Some time after the death of Colgan, which happened about the year 1658, Edmond Curry, a distinguished orator of this College, was thrown into prison, and at last suffered as a martyr. Thomas Geraldine and O'Cahan, men remarkable for their learning, piety, and eloquence, suffered a like fate. In the year 1667, the Venerable Father Bernard Fallon was guardian. Father Francis Kennedy was a Jubilato professor; and, together with Bonaventura Kevin, presided over the School of Theology. Bonaventura Kelly and Francis Fegan, presided over the Philosophical department. Upon the 8th of May, in that year, they celebrated the jubilee

* Academia Lovaniensis, 135.

year of their foundation. They could, in the short space of fifty years, boast of having sent from among them, fifteen missionaries who suffered martyrdom. Three Archbishops—four Bishops—one of whom was Bœtius Egan of Elfin, whose name we have not before mentioned; two Diefinitor-Generals; eight provincial Ministers; as many as fourteen Guardians and Lecturers in Sacred and Scholastic learning; twelve Jubilate Lecturers in Theology; and no less than one hundred and sixty other Lecturers in Theology, Philosophy, besides Preachers and Missionaries. This proud catalogue is proved from the letter of the Reverend Father Anthony Docharty, written in 1664.*

From that year, there exists nothing, that I could find, which would enable me to say anything further upon the history of the colleges. From the inscription upon the tomb-stones which I have given, the reader may collect a broken list of the guardians and professors, up to the year 1783. I would wish, indeed, these few monuments were likely to be spared, as some little record of the past, but unfortunately such will not be the case, unless some pious pilgrim, some Old Mortality will bend his steps towards Louvain. From the present occupants every facility may be expected, and, perhaps, it may not be too much to hope, that so desirable an object could be com-

* Academia Lovaniensis, 136.

pleted, and the inscriptions rescued for centuries to come.

The reasons which hindered our detailing the history of the Irish Pastoral Colleges, through the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, here again obstruct our narrative. The wars and tumults which affected the one, of course affected the other. In many of these scenes, the convents of the religious orders appeared to be the special object of attack, and against them was directed the violence of the soldiery. But this was not all they had to suffer; by an edict of Joseph the 2nd, 1782, that of St. Anthony was very much curtailed,* and "a Visitator" appointed over it; however, the Brethren appear to have been left their convent, and their suppression not yet entirely completed.

The low situation of the town, and the proximity of the convent to the Dyle, rendered the overflowing of that river in the year 1784 a disastrous event to the Franciscans. All their cattle, wood and property, of every kind was destroyed. In the midst of this deluge our countrymen did not forget their heroism and charity. Two of the brotherhood seeing a boat vainly endeavouring to carry assistance to some unfortunate being, on the verge of destruction, were attracted by their cries, and hastening to the spot they plunged into the water, and were the

* Staes. t. 19. p. 303. Historie de Louvain, p. 300.

means of rescuing the sufferer from a watery grave. But deeper and more trying calamity than any they had yet suffered was approaching—the French, as we have seen, possessed the town in 1796—the convent was dismantled, its little property was confiscated, their church was desecrated, and finally their premises were sold; subsequently it passed into the family of Mr. Vanhandenrode, and the present occupants the "Frere de Charité," purchased it from that gentleman, in the year 1832. We have now finished this notice of St. Anthony of Padua, the most celebrated whether as a seat of learning, or as a school of theology, of any of the Irish colleges of Louvain.

We must now turn our steps towards the Irish Dominican College, the last we have to visit. A long narrow street leads from the "Hotel de Ville" towards the Brussell's gate. It crosses the river Dyle, and the battlements of the bridge are partly made of large stones, which have been sacrilegiously removed from some old cemetery, as they are covered with epitaphs in the Flemish language. Soon after crossing this river, you meet with a church situated in a little "place" and surrounded with large poplar trees. Its open door will invite your entrance. As you pass up towards the altar, on the right hand side, your attention will be directed towards a stone inserted in the flooring; beneath it are buried the remains of another of your countrymen, a dignitary of this church. His epitaph is as follows:—

HIC JACET V.
ADM. R. EXIMIUS AC
AMPLISS. D. AC M. R. FLORENTUS
O'SULLIVAN KIERIENSIS
HIBERNUS S. T. D. REGIUS
INSIGNIS ECCLESIÆ COLLEGIATÆ
ST. JACOBUS. CANONICUS ET
DECANUS ECCLESIÆ INCASIENSIS
ET APPENDICUM ARCHIDIACONUS
ET OFFICCIALIS ARCHIDIÆCESIS
MECHLIENSIS JUDEX
SYNODALIS COLLEGII
HIBERNORUM PRESES ET
BENEFACTOR OBIIT
19 AUT 1731
R. I. P.
MODESTIA VICTRIX.

After leaving this church, you reach, in a few minutes, a wall extending about twenty yards in length and somewhere about twelve feet high, and in it are eight or nine recesses about four feet asunder, something like doorways that had been filled up. At the end is a porch, rather large, and built of cut stone, the wall being of brick. After passing this and going on a few paces, you turn round a corner to the right, and along the wall leading up a narrow little street, formerly known as "Rue Dominican Irlandais."

What we have now described were formerly the surrounding "battimens" of the Irish Dominican College. While standing there, a gentleman joined us, and after some conversation invited us to enter, telling us that he was the present proprietor,

and a banker of the city. We found the interior laid out as a fruit and vegetable garden; in one corner are some vaults or caves, and these are the only indication that large buildings once occupied the place. Beds of rich salad now grow luxuriantly, where our countrymen once held their habitation. A few large trees about the garden must, from their age, have been planted by the Dominicans. But, with these exceptions, nothing remains of olden times; not a single engraved stone of any description is to be found there. As to the history of this house we have little to say. The Irish Dominicans first came to Louvain, so early as 1608, when Thaddæus O'Duan was the head of their establishment in that city; afterwards they removed to an old church of the Jesuits, near the "Castrum Cæsaris," where under Dominick "Roche de Cruce" they had their residence for some years; Philip IV. endowing them with one thousand florins. Father Burke, of Galway, and Dominick O'Daly, a Rosario, were professors in this college. Finally, the brothers removed to the building of which we have been speaking. D. H. Gregory, and Henry and William Joyce, having assisted them in erecting a new church in 1659,* which was dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas. "The studies in this college were philosophy and theology, and the inmates

* Historia Sacra et Profana. Archiepiscopis Mechliniensis apud tempora.

spent their time engaged in these occupations, or in prayer and meditation." The authorities before us speak no further of their history. The "Hibernia Dominicana" of De Burgo, is the book we would point at as a source of further information upon the subject; its name is familiar to most of our readers. We are now about to close our notices of these ancient institutions, the limits of our book rather obliged us to compress than extend our observations; rude and unfinished as they are, we trust they may induce others to follow up the subject, and to give a fresh and life-like picture of what we have hastily sketched, and thus add an important and most interesting chapter to a book much wanting among us, namely, a complete and accurate ecclesiastical history of Ireland.

ERRATA.

Page xiii. line 20, for *Augustiis*, read *Angustiis*.
„ xxxiii. line 23, for *neat* read *near*.

THE BLEEDING IPHIGENIA.

ADVERTISEMENT.

"The Bleeding Iphigenia," of Doctor French has long been known as a book of uncommon rarity, and has been eagerly sought after by book collectors. Whenever it, or the "Sale and Settlement of Ireland" have appeared at an auction-room, crowds of bidders have attended, and the contents of this little volume, in the reader's hands, have sold for no less a sum than £40.

For a considerable time the Bleeding Iphigenia had even escaped the diligent search of the Right Hon. Mr. Grenville, whose anxiety to procure works, of this class, is so well known, and whose library, especially in Irish history and literature, is quite unequalled. The copy in the possession of that gentleman, has the following MS. note inserted. "For the last thirty "years I had in vain endeavoured to procure "this book, so rare that I knew it only by its "title, but had never seen a single copy; it was "purchased by Mr. Heber while on the conti-"nent, and was sold with other of his books "abroad, ultimately coming to me at a very "heavy price."

This little book, as may be seen by the title page, originally appeared at Louvain, in the year 1674, and is now for the first time published in this country. It is placed first in this collection, principally because it is more general and prefatory in its character than the others. Indeed, the author himself calls it a Preface to a work unfinished, and it is believed that it was intended as such, for the "Doleful fall of Andrew Sall;" however, it did not appear with this book, nor for many years after its publication.

The editor has not ventured to alter the orthography in any of these reprints, confident that doing so would lessen their character as types of the originals. It may be difficult to account for the variance between the orthography in the "Bleeding Iphigenia," and that in the "Sale and Settlement," unless it is to be attributed merely to the printers; however, this difficulty the Editor must leave to the solution of others.

The phraseology to be found in these publications is very quaint, and characteristic of the times, and must be of value to any one desirous of sketching, in dialogue or otherwise, literary portraiture of Irish character in the seventeenth century, a matter which appears to have been very much overlooked, by the historians who have endeavoured to picture to us, the scenes or characters of that, perhaps one of the most eventful periods of Ireland's History.

THE

BLEEDING

IPHIGENIA

OR

An excellent Preface of a Work unfinished, published by the Authors frind, with the Reasons of publishing it.

THE picture of *Iphigenia* (one of the rarest peeces of antiquity) goeing to be sacrifised for appeasing the anger of *Diana*, offended with her Father *King Agamemnon* for killing a stagg consecrated to that Goddess, made *Timanthes** the Author thereof very famous.

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* The classical reader need not be reminded that Timanthes was a celebrated Grecian painter, the contemporary of Philip of Macedon, who lived about 40, B. C.

Hee placed in lively cullors, round about this faire *Princes*, her Kinsmen, Frinds, Allyes, and suite in great Consternation, all drown'd in lamentations and teares; but the gallant Lady (nothing in nature appear'd more comely) smiled, bearing in her countenance a Majesty, and contempt of death: soe charming was the art of this picture, that few could view it without teares.

Courteous Reader, the Author of this Preface hath drawne another *Iphigenia* of the body of a noble, ancient Catholic Nation cla'd all in redd Robes, not to bee now offered up as victim; but already sacrific'd, not to a profane Deity, but to the living *God* for holy Religion: look but on this our bleeding *Iphigenia*, and I dare say you will lament her Tragedy.

1. In the first place the Author sets downe his owne feare and care about long Eternity (which should be the chiefest care of a Christian) confessing with griefe and compunction of hart, that hee had walk'd in daunger, even to the age of 71 years, and at length found himselfe touch't with that dreadful theme: *Aut pœnitendum aut ardendum.* That is: *Either we must doe pennance, or burne.* This drove him to a

resolution of laying aside all wordly entanglements, and conversations, for obtaining the Kingdome of heaven and taking order with the house of his Soule, for that he was sure to dye, and could not live longe.

2. Hee expresses a Godly anger against his frind *Sall** an Apostata. *Sancte Irascitur qui pro Deo Irascitur.* That is: *Hee is justly Angry, that is angry for God's Cause.*

3. Hee delivers in sencible Language the slavery, ruine, and destruction of his deare Country.

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* "Andrew Sall, the individual above alluded to, was born at Cashel, in the county of Tipperary. In 1639, he removed to Spain where he became a Jesuit, and was afterwards appointed a professor of moral divinity in the College of the Jesuits at Salamanca: about the year 1673 he returned to Ireland, and was constituted superior of the mission of the Jesuits in that country—having, soon after, unhappily abandoned his faith, he embraced, or rather pretended to embrace Protestantism, and took up his residence in Trinity College. Here he graduated; and as a further reward for his defection, he was soon after nominated domestic chaplain to Charles II., and enriched with the prebend of Swords, the rectory of Ardmulchan, and the chantorship of Cashel. He died in Dublin, about the year 1682, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Patrick."—Brenan's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 2, p. 280. For Sall's works, see Ware's Writers, by Harris, vol. 2, p. 189. Doctor French's answers to some of these will be found enumerated among his writings, a list of which given at the close of the Introduction to this volume.

4. Hee presents to the view of our gratious *King Charles* the second a Catholick People, his faithfull subjects wounded by theeves, and left halfe dead, like the miserable man, that went from *Hierusalem* to *Ierico;* desiring his *Majesty* with prayres, and teares to com neare and binde up the wounds of the afflicted, powring in Oyle and Wine, as did the Godly *Semaritane.* His Language to the King is with submissive duty, and yet with a *Priestly* freedome Iudging with *Saint Ambrose. Neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi denegare, neque Sacerdotale, quod sentiat, non dicere.* That is: *It is neyther Kingly to deny the freedome of speaking, nor Priestly, not to speake what hee thinks.*

5. Hee names in particulare certain Capitall, Implacable blooddy Enemyes of his Country, and gives them the Caracters, they deserve: and to justify this, says with *Tertuliane, In hostem Patriæ, omnis homo miles est.* That is: *Every man is a Souldier against the enemy of his Country.*

The subject of his writing was to reprove *Sall* a *Jesuit of the Fourth Vow*, for abjuring the Catholick Faith, and leaving his holy Order: In the work hee proceeded to 8. or 9. Chapters, and went noe further;

but I hope some zealous *Istraelite* will build upon the foundation hee hath laid, a handsome structure.

You will perhaps inquire who hee is that began, and did not finish a good work; hee is a learned worthy *Priest*, of whome, all that know him, will say, (his modesty may not be offended with the trueth's I utter) hee hath been all his life tyme, sincere in all his writings, ways, and conversation; (Hee is truly one of those can say with *Seneca: Quod sentimus loquimur, & quod loquimur sentimus.* That is: *I thinke what I speake, and speake what I thinke.*) Ever Loyall to his *Prince*, faithfull to his Country, and true to his frind; and soe hearty a lover of peace, with all kinde of men; that he never ingag'd in any contention, but what was pious for defending Religion, and the Jurisdection of the holy Sea: in quarrells of this nature hee was still fervent, and feared noe man, and used to say with great *Ambrose* in such incounters. *Nemini facio injuriam, si omnibus Deum præfero.* That is: *I injure no man by præferring God before all.*

Having considered with attention this sound Preface, and finding the contents sol-

lid, well ordered, and such as may be useful to my poore Country, I thought it my duty to make all publick to the World; hoping that pious Christians beholding the grievous wounds wee have received for God, and Religion, from the Enemys of both, will open the bowells of mercy to us soe sorely oppressed.

I conclude with a word or two to my deare Countrymen, recommending seriously to them all, at home and a broad, to humble themselves under the Iudgments of *God*, and powre forth theire harts like Water upon the Earth, in contrition, teares, and prayres; which is the only way left for asswaging the anger of *God*, come upon us, for our owne sinns, and those of our Forefathers; *Initium salutis* (saith holy *Hierome*) *est nostra intelligere & flere peccata.* That is: *To understand and deplore our sinnes is the beginning of Salvation;* and because a disease deeply rooted (as ours) needs a strong and long cure, it is fitting wee calle to mind that saying of *Saint Ambrose. Grandi plagæ, alta, & problixa est opus medicina;* and apply the same.

I beseech you, gentle Reader, pray to *God* for my afflicted Country, and for the

Catholic Religion therin persecuted, that it be not wholly extinguished, and soe commending you to the tuition of the Almighty, I remaine

Your humble servant in

Christ Iesus

N. N.

AMICUS ANONIMUS

ad

AUTHOREM ANONIMUM.

Qvam bene Magnates stringis : tibi dicere verum
Innatum est : aliis dissimurare placet.
Fallacias Mundi, Scriptor venerande, *nec artes ;*
Tu curas, ut Mundum falsa docere probes.

THE

PREFACE

TO

THE STUDIOUS READER.

After a toylsome peregrination for the space of full seaventy years in this Babilon of confusion and miseryes, (wherein men are soe strangely tormoyl'd, that the pleasures they enjoy, often become theire greatest torments.) I began at length with a sencible care to consider of Long Eternity, purposing, to lay aside all false contentment, deceiving illusions, and prophaine conversations, heavy Chains I haue carry'd to long with small pleasure, and great feare, and although I found great danger in carrying them,

yet I had not courage enough to shake them of for good and all. *Veretrahebam catenam meam* (to use S. Augustins Language) *solui timens.*

My declining age forewarning mee the downfall of my decaying body would be soon, and perhaps suddaine, bid mee prepare for a surer, and a more durable habitation; and it seemed to mee my Guardian Angell whispered to my disquieted soule even the same words the Prophet Isaie uttered to King Ezechias when dangerously sick. "Thus saith our Lord: take order with thy house, for thou shalt dye, and shall not live."—*Isa. Cap.* 38.

This inevitable alarme of dying raysing a high storme within mee, I concluded without further fluctuation to spend the short remnant of tyme I have to live, in pennance, Holy contemplation, prayers, and Mortification for schanselling with teares (if God would be soe pleased) the sinns and vanitys of my former life.

I had hardly begun to settle my minde in this divine meditation, when behold a printed paper from London came to hand, of a publick abjuration of the Roman Catholic faith made by Andrew Sall a Jesuit of the fourth Vow. This paper indeed gave mee a great heaviness of hart, for I loved the man dearly for his amiable nature, and excellent parts, and esteemed him both a pious person and Learned, and soe did all that knew him, but I see wee were all deceiv'd in him. However this suddaine change of him made mee

say with sad attention those words of Saint Paul. "Hee that thinketh himselfe to stand, let him take heed least hee fall."—(1 *Cor. Cap.* 10.) For God knowes I noe way feared this man would have falen into herisy.

As I was Reading with great attention Sall's Abjuration I call'd to minde that "great read Dragon, whose tayle drew the third part of the starrs of heaven, and cast them to the earth. (*Apoc. Cap.* 12.) And then said to my selfe, the tayle of an infernall beast had cast this Sall to the Earth out of a little heaven: *(The state of Religion)* wherin for a tyme hee shined like a small starr in vertue, and learning.

After deserting the Societey of Jesus and running away with infamy and shame, out of the whole House of God I could not Endure him, and therfore resolved to give him a sharp reprehension: at which if hee shall repine, and fall into Choller for my indevouring to doe him good, I shall hould that for an ill Symptome of his disease *qui corripientem Eum contemnit* (saith Solomon) *non sequetur Eum Sanitas.* Some sick men there are, that now and then think themselves sound and well, when they are most sick, all those can not abide the sight of a Doctor, which is a Kinde of madness: if Sall be one of those, his Cure will be the harder; however for Charity-sake, and for the ancient amity wee had, I will employ all paynes, and dilligence for healing him, but the cure must come from above,

*Ab illo medico in cœlis, qui spargit medicamentæ in terris.** Farre it is (God knowes) from my minde to add affliction to his afflictions, *sufficiat Diei malitia sua : nec unquam fuit mea consuetudo lacerato animo dicere vitia amicorum, talem Zelum (ut cum S. Augustino Loquar) semper sensui magis impetum punientis, quam caritatem corrigentis.* The same saint tells mee how to handle Sall. *Dilige* (saith hee) *& dic quod voles.*

But what shall I doe to a man, that hath stained his soule with the spott of herisy? with what waters shall I wash him for wyping away the staine, with those of *Siloc, quæ fluunt cum silentio*, or those of *Rasin quæ transeunt cum tumultu?* (*Isa. Cap.* 8.) The last seem the more naturall for purifying him though my inclination is more for the soft running waters of *Siloe.*

Had Sall's sinn beene noe more than a slipp of Ignorance, or frailty, wee could have covered him with a Mantle of Charity; but the abominable abjuration of faith being a sinn of a high nature, and full of Impiety against God, against Christ and his unspotted spouse, against Charity and the Holy Ghost, I can not be silent, but must openly rebuke his wickedness, and maintaine truth against him before all the world: can I see a man deare to mee, vaunting and soe desperatly defying the Hostes of the living God, and say nothing! that cannot be: Silence here were

* Dictum S. Ambrosy.

a great sinne being the true tyme of taking up David's Sling and stone and throwing at this Gyant dominering and vaporing against the camp of Israell. I am not to powre oyle upon the head of such a sinner, flattery will not cure him, I must then in charity chide him and Exprobrat his deserting the Catholick faith; and if hee is wise and penitent, he will say with repenting David. "The just shall rebuke me in mercy, and shall reprehend me: but let not the oyle of a sinner fatte my head."—*Psal.* 140.

After lamenting Sall's woeful perversion, I begin to think of my deare Contry's affliction, and with feare, and amazement to inquire the ground and cause of persecution there and in England.

Nothing was less feared (I am confident) by the Catholicks of both Kingdoms then a tempest of this nature to come upon them, lying safe (as they conceived) under the wings of soe great and mercyfull a Monarck, as Charles the second, a King of pardons. How then say men came this about? how could soe clement a King be induced to afflict soe loyall a people, as the Catholics of England, and Ireland? I see noe Mistery in this business, all is cleare: theire affliction, and cause therof is well knowne over all Europ, and is (as I may say) even the same with that of innocent Daniell whose Loyall fidelity to Cyrus King of Babylon, was so cleare, as his malignant Enemys said expressly of him,

wee shall not find against this Daniell any occasion unless perhaps in the Law of his God; the Crime then against Daniell and all the Jews was theire Religion: upon this ground the Counsellers and great men of the Kingdome gott the King to sett forth an Edict against the Jewes for professing theire Religion, and by this means Daniell was cast into the lake of the Lyons by a King that lov'd him. The King lov'd Daniell but hee feared the great men, who pressed the Law to be executed against Daniell, and this feare more strong in the King then love, made poore Daniell Companion to the Lyons.

Your Religion noble Contry-men, your Religion is the sole Cryme, for which you suffer (Blessed for ever be the name of God for this) your Religion hath stirred up this tempest, which ought not to terrifye you over much, seeing the Apostles our first Captains and Leaders in this holy cause, those darlings of God, endured hard things for Religion: Prisons, whippings, contumilies, and all sorts of vexations were to them delights, and consolations: they after "being scurged went from the sight of the Councell rejoycing, because they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.—*Act Apl. Cap.* 5.

Doe not therefore feare all that men can doe against you, while with teares and patience you march under the purple Standart of Crucify'd

Jesus, for in the end, the day, and victory will be yours: feare not the power of men in this glorious tryall, there be more with you, then against you, (Legions of Angells though you see them not) those heavenly hostes are pitching theire tents round about you. Hee that Led the Children of Israell out of Egypt in wonders through the redd Sea, never wants power to deliver you: waite for his good tyme, for hee will come.

A Table of sage Counsells, that hung by the bed of *Ptolomeus Arsacides* King of Egypt, (by him Religiously observed all the tyme of his raigne,) was delivered by a Priest of the Idols to the wise Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, whoe dying gave it to his sonn with this short speech. My sonn leaving you Emperour of many Kingdoms, I presume you will with that great power be feared of all, and if you wil faithfully Keep the Godly Counsells in this Table, you shall be infalibly beloved of all.

THE TABLE OF COUNSELLS.

1. I NEVER deny'd (said the vertuous King *Ptolomeus*) justice to a poore man, for being poore; nor pardoned a rich man for being rich.

2. I never loved a rich wicked man; nor hated a poore just man.

3. I never granted favours to men for affection; nor distroy'd men to satisfy my passion.

4. I never deny'd Justice to any demanding Justice; nor mercy to the afflicted and miserable.

5. I never passed by Evill without punishing it; nor good without rewarding it.

6. I never did Evill to any Man out of Malice; nor villany for avarice.

7. I was never without feare in prosperity; nor without courage in adversity.

8. My dore was never open to a flatterer; nor my eare to a murmering detractor.

9. I indeavoured still to make myselfe beloved of the good; and feared of the Evill.

10. I ever favoured the poore that were able to doe little for themselves; and I was evermore favoured by the Gods, that were able to do much for all.

Those rare Counsells should be exposed in the houses of Kings and all publick places to the view of men, to be knowne of all in theire respective dignitys and callings: and it would be a pious and noble action, if our gratious souveraigne would be pleased to consider seriously with himselfe, how farre these just and Laudable Counsells have been regarded during the tyme of his raigne, especially in conferring of estates and lands from one part of his subjects, to another part of them contrary to all due course of Law;

and without hearing of the partys oppressed, which hath been procured to be don by the undue information, and perswation of certaine of his Councellers, and Ministers of State, and chiefly of the Chancellor the Earl of Clarindon.

If his Majesty shall doe this grace, and justice to his Catholick subjects of Ireland, thousands of Widow's and Orphans will be eased and relieved, who now sitt downe in great poverty, Lamenting extreamly their Lands, Houses and all they had wrongfully taken from them, and this day possessed and injoy'd by those invaders.

God bindes all Kings, and Judges by this commandement: "Thou shalt not doe that which is uniust nor Judg uniustly, Consider not the person of a poore man neither honour thou the countenance of him that is mighty. Judg justly to thy Neighbour."—(*Levit. Cap.* 19.) God alsoe forbids to give away one subjects bread to another; reason, vertue, and the lawes of God, Nature and Nations are the rules that ought to guid all Princes and Magistrats in the government of the people under them. Did not God himselfe complaine of Evell Iudges in this Kinde: "How is the faithful Cittie, full of Judgment, becom a harlott? Justice hath dwelled in it, but now man-killers. The Princes are unfaithful, Companions of thieves; al love guifts, follow rewards. They Iudge not for the pupil: and the widowes cause goeth not in to them." (*Isa.Cap.* 1.) And againe our Lord saith. "They

are made grosse and fatt: and have transgressed my words most wickedly. The cause of the widow they have not Iudged; the cause of the pupil they have not directed, and the Iudgment of the Poore they have not Iudged. Shall I not vissite upon these things, saith our Lord? or upon such a Nation shall not my soule take revenge?"—(*Jerem. Cap.* 5.) Certainly it is against Gods just Judgment to omitt such things, and crimes unpunished. There are thousands of distressed Catholick Pupils, and wedowes (his Majesty cannot chuse but know it) that have not got Iustice; whose cause and complaint had noe Entrance into his Courtes; they cried out for Justice, and were not heard; they Cry'd for mercy, and found it not; and such as live of those oppressed soules are still crying to heaven, and the King for remedy; Poore desolate and dejected, they are waiting at the doore of the Kings pallace and noe regard is had of their teares, prayres, and petitions.

Wee are indeed becom the reproach of all Nations round about us, by the craft and iniquity of States men, that have poysened the Fountaine of Justice, It is said of some of those that theire vices have farre exceeded theire vertues, and that in all theire proceedings against our Nation, there was found in them noe truth, noe integrity, noe Religion, noe shame; but an insatiable covetousness, and a flameing ambition of making themselves great and powerfull: and are not such men say you able to poysen the

Fountaine of Iustice (and mercy toe) in a Kingdome.

This sore oppression, and our necessitys every day growing greater, forceth us to implore Iustice and mercy, and to minde the King of what the Apostle saith to a King. "*Non enim sine causa gladium portat.*"—(*Ad Rom. Capt.* 13.) If the Law of God will alow of soe many thousands of innocents to be destroy'd, is a maxim, that toucheth much his Royall Wisdome, and to be distroy'd and sacrificed to augment the estates of men, that were great and rich enough before: can Justice suffer this? can the mercifull brest of a Clement King endure to see soe many sad spectacles of woes, and miserys without all relief? will not God at long running look downe, and examin these cruell procedings? It hath been a principal care, and study of some statesmen neare the King, to oppress and overthrow the Catholicks of Ireland, and at the same tyme to perswade his Majesty, that wee ought to be destroy'd by Iustice and Law.

Theire Malice they have evidenced in theire language, and viperous writings. Of this stuff you have enough in the Earle of Orerys answer to Peter Welsh his letter to the then Marquis now Duke of Ormond desiring a just and mercifull regard of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland: what could be more rationall than such a demand? yet Orery must quarrell with the contents of said letter, and belch out poyson against

the whole Nation and theire Religion. To this answer P. W. replyed and solidly confuted Orery: lett the indifferent Reader after deliberation Iudge of which side truth, sollid reason, and learning is in the writings of both.

It vexed Orery above all measure that P. W. advanced these two propositions. 1. That the worst of the Irish Papists were no Regicids. 2. That the Irish Papists fought against such men, when England, Scotland, and the Protestants of Ireland deserted the Royall cause.

To the first Orery makes this pittifull answer, "That the Irish Papists are no Regicids; let it be considered, that the Doctrin of Regicids is common in Romish schools, and the practice in their courts." This is a false Calumny, tell us Orery in what Romish University or School is this Doctrine Common? in what Catholick Court is this practice? you can not tell us, and therefore you are convinced of Calumniating Catholick Schools, and Courts, which is no Creditt for you.

In the mean time wee demaund Orery in what School was the Doctrin had, by which Crumwell and the rabble of blooddy Rebells murthered the good King Charles the first, in the School of Geneve or Rome? Speak freely your minde, and tell us on what side were you when the king was murthered, of Crumwells party or the Kings? of Crumwells party you were then, and had you been then in London likely (this is the

opinion of many) you had been a high man in that blooddy jury; and after that Kings death noe man desired more (as was generally spoken of you) to King Crumwell, and unKing our present Soveraigne that you.

To P. W. his second proposition you answer thus: "That to touch the annoynting, is virtually to touch the annoynted, take away the regalia, and in effect you take away the King." Orery all this is true, but what Illation make you of this? who I pray are those that touched the annoyntings, and the annoynted, the Catholicks of Ireland; or Crumwells party? (whose faithfull Ianniser you have been.) The annoyntings you have touch'd formally, all the Regalia, the Kings Cittys, Townes, Forts, Militia, and for addition to your treason you made open warre against the Crowne and King, (it was Crumwell and you all touched then the annoynted virtually) and here you stayd not, but touched the annoynted formally, when you put him to death by an unheard and most blooddy solemnity, and as it were by Iustice or course of law, an asacinate, that hath contaminated the glory of the English Nation, though the best and most of the Peers and good people of England abhorr'd it. Your answer to this second proposition you conclude thus: "Had the Devill had leave to touch Iobs person, hee would not have spar'd him, when he touched all that was his." You say right Orery; but what say you to this; that you and

your Companions after touching all that was the Kings, having touched his sacred person, and Barbarously killed him. See and reckon among your selves, what Kinde of Divells you were then, and if you have not gon a stepp farther against your owne King, then the Divell did against Iob.

Orery you might take us for men of short memory, if we should forgett, how you by way of rallery said of 54. Catholick Gentlemen Nominees, that were to be restored, (and made account they should be soe) to theire chief houses, and 2000. Akers of ground, that it was intended by the act, they should be only Nominees, *Nomine* restorable, but not *re.* You have play'd the Prophett Orery (though you spake in a leering way) for as yett none of them have been restored, (as wee are informed) nor likely shall; yett at that tyme you abused the Kings goodness and credulity, assuring his Majesty, there was a sufficient stock of reprisalls to satisfy all.

After taking some paines, in reading over the hott (papering) contention between the Earl of Orery, and Father Peter Welsh Frier Minor Lector of Divinity, I found Orery's answer to P. W. his letter to the then Marquis now Duke of Ormond, to be an Eloquent, Pollished, Elaborated piece, but full of Cavills, artifice, fallacies, untruths, and sophistry; all his study and paynes tend to render the Catholicks of Ireland odious, and infamous, and theire peace of

1648. voyd: *(Rem non benam facis Orere, ultra vires tuas est negotium)* hee showes in his writings a bitter soule, and great pride and presumption, (I owe not soe much to his degree as to spare telling him truth, nor want I confidence to defend truth, and my Country, against a person of higher quality than hee is.) Never came in my way an Author, that writes of a whole Nation, and theire Religion, less Christianly, less nobly, and less truly; and for his paynes hee is worthy of the praise S. Augustin gives to such a man, as this: *Ingenium in malo venenum in auro.*

Upon a Bull of Vrbanus 8. to the confederate Catholicks of Ireland, Anno 1643. hee makes a mocking malicious coment. This Bull imports noe more than an exhortation to the Catholicks to free themselves from the oppressions, and grivous Injuries, theire fellow subjects the Protestants did them, who had designed to pull them up roote and bransh, (as was evidently made appeare) hee alsoe praised the Catholicks for indeavouring to defend themselves, and theire Religion, and gave them Indulgences in so just and good a quarrell; his Holliness speaks not a word in all against the King, nor obedience due to the King; Richard Belings esquire Agent to that Pope from the confederate Catholicks hath atested, that his Holliness commaunded him to tell his Children the Catholick Confederats, that hee would have them in defending themselves,

and Religion, to continue constantly obedient to theire King, and after his Holliness sent an excellent and pious letter to the suprem Councell of the confederate Catholicks, of which I shall speak more hierafter. Will not the world rather believe his Holliness owne Letters, and the Messenger wee sent him, in declaring his sence in the aforesaid Bull, then Orery the Popes enemy? What I pray is contained in that Bull, that an honest man can reprehend? would Orery have the Pope be soe madd, as to forbid his Children to defend themselves and Religion against him, and his Companions?

Good God how this man doth abuse this Popes pious and good meaning expressed in foresaid Bull, which Orery tells the world was a Cherishing of the Catholicks in Rebellion, as if our taking up armes for our necessary defence of lives, and Religion against the Protestants our fellow subjects could haue been a rebellion, as hee would faine perswade his reader, and that the Popes aforesaid Bull was a Cherishing of the Catholicks in a Rebellion: to which purpose hee speaks thus: "If the Popes power over the Irish be soe great, theire obedience to the King must be little:" as if the Religion of the Catholicks had an inconsistency with their duty and obedience to the King, which is most false. The Popes power over the people is in *spiritualibus;* the Kings power in *temporalibus;* and those powers doe wel agree (as is evidently knowne

over all the world) in the power of Catholick Princes over theire subjects, and in the Popes power over the same people; those powers, and Iurisdictions in Catholick tymes in England did not Clash, nor doe they now in theire nature, the Catholick people paying theire duty to both; it is true the *Luminare Majus* (the Pope) Catholicks venerate more, then *Luminare minus* (the King) because *Luminare Majus* hath the greater light and influence; yet they doe not therfore omitt to pay due veneration to the King. Orery brings noe proofe, or sound argument, to prove what hee assumed, (that the Pope's Bull was sent for Cherishing a Rebellion,) but his owne authority, which with us hath little creditt, and will soe with any, that shall know his ways and dealings.

I pray Orery to make this reflection, whether there have ever been in the world more execrable and blooddy Rebells then himselfe and Companions, who had noe dependence upon the Pope, but quite contemed his authority, and his person hated, Hee will not (I hope) say the Pope Cherish'd theire Rebellion.

The Man hath much strained his brains in impugning the mentioned Bull; and as if hee had done a great bussiness, says thus of the Irish Catholicks: "If they succeed, heaven and Ireland is theirs; if they succeed not, heaven is theirs." Orery by the quarrell, wee intended to hold what of Ireland was ours, against invaders;

who can blame us for this? and fighting for Religion, wee had a good claime to heaven; and though wee succeeded not in fighting, our claime to heaven is still good by our faith and good works; this claime all our Enemys, with the Protestant Parlaments of England, and Ireland are not able to take from us. Orery and all of his bands and Combination hath dealt with us as the Divill did with Iob; the Divill touch't all that was Job's, except his life; Orery and his people have touched all that was ours except our soules, which we hope in his Devine mercy God will preserve for his owne Worship and glory, soe as wee have still title to say, "heaven is ours:" but hee and his cannot say for themselves, "heaven is ours," until they shall change, theire Religion into a true faith, doe good worcks, and restore what they haue uniustly taken from us.

I will here sett downe a few of Orerys propossitions, let the reader after perusing them, Iudge of them.

In his answer to P. W. his Letter to the Marquis of Ormond hee calls the Irish Nation a "beast," "the Country a very pest-house," and the Religion of the Catholicks something that pinns them upon the sleeve of the Pope. Was ever such a diffinition given of Religion? S. Paul defines faith thus. *Est fides sperendarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium.* (*Ad*

Hebr. Cap. 11.) The Apostle speaks nothing here of pinning, or of the Popes sleeve. Orery this kind of scoffing rallery in holy things is ignoble, and better becoming Comedians than Counsellors, We owe the Pope and his sacred Dignity due obedience, which wee will with Gods blessing Religiously pay all our lives, *fremant, frendeant, rumpantur invidia Oreri & mille impij nugatores:* and this obedience did neuer take away, obedience due to our King, nor ever will. Who but a beast would call a noble and ancient Nation a beast? sum will tell him he kicks against the whole Nation, because hee is a beast, highly pampered, and fed with honours, lands, and Riches. Did ever any call the faire Country of Ireland a Pest-house but this man? why came soe many poore indigent men out of England this age into this Pest-house to make theire fortunes? why came his Father thither (likely hee hath herd, in what state, and plight his Father then was) hee found himselfe very well for many yeares in this Pest-house.

In his answer to P. W. hee speaks these Godly words: "Let it not seem strange or hard, at least to P. W. and his Country-men, if a continued Series of Covenant-breaches, rapines, Murthers, Massacres, Cruelties, perfidies, treasons, and Rebellions, exercised against the Crowne, and Protestant Religion, raise jealoussies in the harts of all Judicious Protestants."

Is not this a pious gloss of a *Geneua Presbyterian* upon a wicked theme? doth not hee show the spleen, and rancour of a cankered hart, in this high tone, and storme of Language against a whole Catholick Nation? Orery it is great Callumnie, that the body of the confederat Catholicks exercised, Rapins, Murthers and those other abominations, or acted any thing against King and Crowne. To the contrary in theire oath of association you will finde an express branch of defending the Crowne, King, and Royall Family. We are not accountable for what Murthers, some of the common people at the first rising in the North, committed against poore Protestants, with the taking away of theire cattel and goods; which wee pittied with all our harts; the body of the Catholicks were not, as yet com into the quarrell (but awhile after were forced to take Arms to avoyed theire owne Destruction which could not be otherwise avoyded) and since taking Arms they have done all a long what the laws of a just warr allow'd. But when you have your selfe commaunded a part of the Parlaments Rebellious Army have you contained your common soldiers from Murthering, and Robbing the innocent common people? wee found the contrary by experience.

Orery Pagina 28. of his answer to P. W. plays the Hypocrite with a great show of holiness. "However (saith hee) the once suduced Protes-

tants of Ireland are willing to take shame to themselves, and give glory to God in confessing their guilt such, (though not by causing, yet by complying with the late usurpation, though to a good end) that they redily acknowledg, they owe theire lives and estates to his Majesty's grace and Indulgence." This is humble and dutifull language, and such as should be spoken to a King, but all is spoken to a King coming home with tryumph, and entring, into Ireusalem with *Osanna in excelsis*, *Benedictus qui venit in Nomine Domini:* But to this Kings Father, a King and the Fountaine of Iustice, as well as the Royal Sonne, sorely afflicted what were the Salutations, and cry's of Orerys Companions? *Tolle*, *Tolle*, *Crucifige:* some men have witt to change theire dialect of speaking according to the change of tymes, and fortune, Orery is said to be one of these.

I pray you heare the scurrill impudency of this people in tyme of theire Rebellion, sending in a derisory manner Hue and cry after his Majesty, when they could not light on his Royall person.

"If any man can bring any tale, or tydings of a wilfull King, who had gon a stray these foure yeares from his Parlament, with a guilty Conscience, bloody hands, a hart full of brooken vowes, and protestations: if these marcks be not

sufficient, there is another in the* Mouth, for bid him speak and you will soone know him: then give notice to Britanicus, and you shall be well payd for your paines. God save the Parlament." *In Merc. Britanicus.*

Who may not doubt but these kinde of men "are those crept in unawarrs, who (as the Apostle Iude tells us) despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities:" did not the same Apostle foretell, "that there should be such mockers in the last tyme, whoe should walke after theire owne ungodly Lustes."—*Iudæ Epis.*

I hope Orery will not say the great Rebells, the Irish Catholics (such hee would haue them be) did ever revile afflicted Majesty in such a scoffing way: truly they did not, but at all tymes, and upon all occations in their Pulpitts, theire congregations, and Publick assemblyes they spake of the King with all veneration, and Compassion.

Now his Majesty coming home in prosperity, those mockers of his Father are all becom purify'd Musellmans and speake nothing but Magnalia of the King. For all this, there are thousands of good true Protestants, Royallists in England that still feare, those new penitents, for abusing Royal Autority (or at least faigne themselves

* Bos in Lingua.

soe to be) would be glad to heare once more that millitary word "as you were," and if this shall com about, the King will not have soe dutifull language from them.

That Orery says hee and other Protestants complyed with the usurpation to a good end, is a strange expression, hee needs explaine himselfe. They invaded all the regalia, that is, they took away the Kings Navy, Forts, Townes, Militia, and in the end they Murther'd the King himselfe. Does Orery call this a good end of complying with the usurpation.

The truth is, Orery and his companions in Ireland came home, when they could noe longer stand of; the King may thank General Muncks ingenious stratagem for theire coming in, theire intention and ways were well knowne. Now the Kings worke being done by Munck with all wished success (soe as those in Ireland had no power to hinder it) then Orery and the rest thought fitt to cry out "let the King live;" and as hee and his trusty comrades syding with the usurpation, had government and places of trust and profitt (they then all danced to Crumwells pype) soe now they court the King returning home, "and show themselves great penitents, taking shame to themselves of their guilt and giving glory to God." Is not this a great glory to God, to confess a rebellion, they could noe more deny, then wee can deny its day when the Sonne is shining and scorching the earth. That which

much troubles Orery, is, that the Irish Catholicks doe not acknowledge themselves guilty of a rebellion with him, and give glory to God that way, but they being, not guilty of such rebellion and treason against the Crowne answer with S. Augustine, *Præstat magis innocentem esse quam pœnitentem.*

Orery ingag'd (as aboue was said) in a horrid rebellion, if hee could make the Catholicks confess themselves to have been Rebells, if this hee could compass, hee wonld indeed triumph, and say in a leering way: behold the Irish Catholicks Confess they have been rebells as well as wee; but wee have obtain'd pardon, which was denyed them, and have gott theire estates and lands to boot; let them now walk through out the world like poor and naked rebells.

But of our side some will say, that at the tyme Orery and his people had pardon, and the Catholicks not: "*Non erat Rex Iupiter omnibus idem.*" And that his Majesty's censure in the case between us was that the Poet speaks of. "*Dat veniam coruis, vexai censura columbas.*" Certainly his Majesty, in our, and your case, Orery, hath not walk't according to Plato his excellent rule: "*Non infælix sed malus semper castigandus est, ut fiat melior.*" (*Plato. legum* 2 *lib.*) Not the unlucky, but the wicked man, is allways to be Chastysed, that hee may be amended. The Royall Iudgment went quite another way, for the unfortunate Irish Catho-

licks were severly punished, and the wicked Crumwelian people have bin pardoned, and rewarded with the estates of the Irish Catholicks. Kingdoms abroad can hardly believe matters were soe carryed. Likely these people are now contented, having theire hearts desire in this world, soe as they may say with out feare "Ireland is ours." But theire memory will perish, and themselves, or theire posterity will be distroy'd by as wicked men as themselves that destroy'd us. Solomon sayd well: "The memory of the just is with praises: the name of the Impious shall rott." (*Prov. Cap.* 10.) I will give Orery and his frinds a good counsell out of the wise man: "*Stuppa collecta Synagoga potentium, et consumatio illorum Stamina ignis.*" "The signagog of sinners is as tow gathered together, and theire consummation a flame of fire."—*Eccles. Cap.* 21.

This Man for wounding Catholicks makes arrows of all wood, and frequently brings out this expression of the King against them. "Wee doe extreamly detest the odious Rebellion, which the recusants of Ireland have without ground or cullour raised against us, our Crowne, and Dignity." Hee further says: "These words of the King were not spoken in a corner but under the great seal, and were worthy to be written with a beame of the sonne." All this is but an exaggeration to render us more odious. But will Orery tell us, with what Beame would hee have

the blooddy Rebellion of Crumwell, of himselfe and the rest written? if there be any brighter then that of the sonne wee are to seek out for it.

Orery knows well there is noe fouler staine, (except Heresy which is a spirituall Rebellion) then that of Rebellion, and therefore leaves noe stone unmou'd to make our warre such: the name is execrable and ignominious, and the marks of reproach inflicted upon Rebells, are full of disgrace. The Civilians speak much of them, as thus.

"Rebellis, incurrit, ipso jure pœnam mortis.
"Rebellis, perdit ipso jure dominium bonorum.
"Rebellis, potest a quo libet impune occidi.
"Rebelli, nec jus reddi debet.
"Rebelles, Subdisi, tanquam piratæ et latrones tractari solebant.
"Rebellium domus solo æquari debent & sale spargi.
"Rebellium legati possunt occidi.
"Rebelles perdunt privilegia, & pro mortuis habentur, non habent Civitatum beneficiat, non jus azili, neque servanda est eiis fides.
"Rebeles non debent in Iudicium citari, sed celeri vindicta puniri; et Rebellionis factum fufficit absque sententia declaratoria."

Seeing Rebells are soe odious and execrable persons, Orery is to make in this place a dubble

reflection; the first, how infamous and wicked men they have been, whose guilt was a confessed Rebellion; secondly they are for ever to praise the King's Clemency, who pardoned soe wicked a Crime.

The Iudgment of Civilians, of Rebells being as above specified noe greater injury can be done to the Irish Catholicks who have beene still Loyall to the King, then to tell the world, theire just warre was a Rebellion.

However it imports not much, that our enemys call us soe, for an Enemys testimony against another Enemy, is of small force: my possitive denyall of what hee affirmes is a justification good enough; if hee brings not against me, Tabulas, testes, and great Evidences, hee does nothing.

My present subject of writing is not to Iustify the Irish Warre of 1641. which, I heare, is already don by a learned pen; yet something I may say for confuting Orery's ill affected Iudgment of us and our quarrell.

That a defensive warre can be raised without the consent and Authority of any Prince is a common Doctrin of Divines, Canonistes, and Civilians; and that it may some time extend itselfe in effect to the nature of an offensive warre. This Doctrine is warranted by the Law of Nature, (a more binding law then are the possitive law's of men, (which if repugne to that of nature are noe law's;) for by this law, a man can defend himselfe against violence without recur-

ring to the Prince. The Law of God is alsoe for the like defence. "*Si effringens vir domum sive effodiens fuerit inventus, & accepto vulnere mortutus fuerit, percussor noncrit reus sanguinis.*" "If the thiefe be found breaking up the house or undermining, and receiving a wound dye, the stricker shall not be guilty of blood." (*Exod. Cap.* 22.) By this divine precept, as alsoe by the law of Nature, it is clear and evident a private man may Kill another in defence of his houshold goods. "*Sed multo magis* (says S. Thomas) *Licitum est defendere propriam vitam, quam propriam domum.*" That is to say "it is much more lawfull for a man to defend his life than his house." (*S. To.* 2 *a.* 2 *æ. q.* 6. *A.* 7.) Ergo if a man Kills another in defence of his own life, hee shall not be guilty of Murther: which case is to be understood, that hee intends not to Kill t'other man but in defence of his owne life; and though some hould; the man defending himselfe may not intend the Killing of that other man, but only the preservation of his owne life, yet the more common opinion is, hee can, and any other thing else that tends, to the preservation of life.

The sacred Canons also subscribe to this Doctrin in this Dialect. "*Sine principis authoritate per aliquod particulare bellum Licitum est alicui injuriam repellere.*" That is "It is lawful without the authority of the Prince, for any man by a particular Warre to repel Injuries." (*De grafys*

ex cap. significasti, desce: 36. *M.* 35.) If you question by what Authority is such a warre legitimated, answer is given out of the Cannons. *Authoritate Juris:* which warranteth all men to prosecute their right, and defend themselves; see the Divines.*

By the Laws of the Kingdom of Ireland, if a private man Kills another *se defendendo*, hee is quitt, because the action is Judged lawfull, and yet to Legitimate such an act the Princes Authority intervenes not, the reason is evident, because: "*Id licitum est jure naturali, Divino, et Civili, et Canonico:*" "By the Law of Nature, Devine, Civill, and Cannon, it is lawful by force, to repell force." Azor. 3 *a. part lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

It is here to be observed that this inculpable defence hath soe large an extent, that it reacheth to the defence not only of every privat man's life, but alsoe of his goods, Chastity, honour, if such things can not be otherways preserved. Soe S. Thomas. (*In* 2 *a.* 2 *æ. q.* 64. *a.* 7.) Now if such defense is lawfull for privat men, how much more for a Commonwealth or Nation? "*Bonum enim commune excellentius universalius at subende Divinius est.*" "For that a Common good is more excellent, more universal, and somtymes more Devine then a

* In 2 a. 2 æ. q. 40. & q. 64. and the interpriters of holy writt in Rom. 13.

private good." (Bannez. *In* 2 *a.* 2 *æ. q.* 40. *a.* 1. *dub.* 2. *con.* 1.) And if it be lawfull to wage warre upon such inferiour motives, as is the preservation, or recovery of temporall goods, honour and the like, how much more lawfull is it to manage warre upon that supreme motive of defending, and perserving, the Catholick faith, without which there is noe salvation.

This was the Judgment the pious and valiant Machabees made of the warre they undertook, and nobly persued for theire Religion and Laws, which they preferd before theire wives and Children, and all temporall things most deare unto them. The "Machabees being exhorted with the words of Judas exceeding good, &c. they resolved to fight and to encounter manfully: because the holy Citty, and the Temple were in danger. For there was less care for theire wives, and Children, and alsoe for theire Bretheren, and Kindsmen: but the greatest and principal feare was for the Holiness of the Temple."—*Ma. l.* 2. *cap.* 15.

How farre a defensive warre may extend, the Schoolmen tell us, and say that by accident, it may be somtyms lawful for the Common wealth to doe, and offer all such Damages and Evill, as may be done and offered in a just offensive warre. "*Aliquando* (saith Bannez) *contingere potest, ut liceat illis, inferre hostibus omnia illa mala, que possunt in bello justo aggresivo.*" "It may happen somtyms, to bee lawfull for those ingaged in a

defensive warr, to do all Evills and Damages which can be offered or don in a just offensive warre."—(2*a*. 2*æ*. *q*. 40, *a*. 1, *d*. 10, *con*. 1.)—Which happeneth when the aggressors are publick Enemys, and when there is noe recourse to the Prince, and that those defending themselves can noe otherwise avoyd the violence offered by the assailants.

This was truly the case of the confederate Catholicks as will clearly appeare to such as will be pleased to examin it. Moreover the case then Stood soe with his Majesty that hee was not able to redress the injuries don us, nor did our Enemys then obay his commaunds, (I mean a little after the warre begunn) but the Parliament, that fell from the King.

For the better and clearer understanding the nature of a defensive Warr, those therin ingaged hould not themselves passively, but actively, soe doe the words repell or beat back signify: if the end it be lawfull, then are the necessary means to compasse that end also lawfull: if the defence of on's selfe be lawfull, then is the Killing of the invader (without which the life of the invaded cannot be preserved) Lawfull, soe as to kill is involved in the act of defence, and the lawfullness of the one infers the lawfullness of the other. "*Si vis* (saith the civill Law) *fiat personæ, tunc licitum est se defendere, & defendendo percutere, imo etiam occidere, si aliter non potest quis evadere manus ejus.*" "If violence is don to a person,

it is then lawful for him to defend himselfe, and defending himselfe to strick, and alsoe to kill, if hee cannot otherwise escape the hands of his Enemys. Thus stood the case with the Irish Catholicks, that they must have kill'd, or have beene killed."—(§§. *ad L. Aquill. L. scientiam.* §§. *qui cum agiter.*) Yea soe great is the Iustice of a defensive Warr, that devines teach, it is lawfull "for the Sonne to defend himselfe against his Father, the Wife against her husband, the servant against his Master, the Subject against his Superiour, and the vassall against his Prince or King." Soe Azor: Nempe. "*Licitum esse Filio contra Patrem, uxori contra Maritum, subdito contra Superiorem, vassallo contra principem sive Regem se defendere.*"—(*Instit. Moral. p.* 3, *l.* 3, *q.* 6.) If it be lawfull for the Subject or vassal in a just cause to defend himselfe against the Prince, it much be lawfull to defend himselfe against his fellow subject.

Here I meet with an objection in which our adversarys put great force. The Irish Catholicks (say they) were the first aggressors. The objection is easily answered, as thus. It is a Common Doctrin of the Devines, that it is lawful to prevent an Evill that can not be otherways avoyded then by preventing it, *E. G.* I see you take your Pistoll in your hand cocking it to shoote at mee, in that case it is lawful for mee to discharge my pistoll and kill you, otherwise I should be kill'd by you: will any law punish me

for killing you soe, would the law of God or nature have mee stay my hand untill I am kill'd by you. Tannerus a good Devine teacheth soe. "*Licitum est etiam prævinire injustum agressorem, si alia via commodæ defensionis non supetat, & is jam aliqualiter est in culpæ, sive in proposito aggressionis injustæ versetur.*" "It is lawfull to prevent an uniust invader, if there is noe other way of defence, and that actually the invader is in fault or in a purpose of an uniust invation"—(*q.* 6, *n.* 7, *de Iustitia et Iure.*) Becanus doth declare (examining this question) "*an aliquando liceat invasorem prævenire et illum occidere antequam nos actu invadat?*" hee answers: "*Licere in his casibus, primo, si accedat ad invadendum, nec evadere possum, nisi illum preveniam: Secundo, si nondum accedat, tamen instructus sit invadendum, nec possum effugere nisi priveniam.*" "Whether somtyms it is lawfull for us to prevent the invader, and Kill him, afore he actually invad's us? hee answers that it is, in these cases: first if he coms to invade mee, and that I cannot escape but by preventing; secondly if hee does not as yet invade mee, but is ready and prepared for that invation, and that I cannot avoyd him but by preventing: in this case if I kill him I doe it *me defenkendo*, and consequently (though I struck first) I am the defender, and hee the aggressor." *Sotus Navar Corduba Covar*: and many houlds this Doctrin, and Navar gives this example, of a Married man

who has a dagger under his pillow, to kill his wife withall, which shee discovering and knowing may prevent by killing her husband, if there is noe other remedy; the reason is, though actually hee has not done the execution, however hee is in a radiness to perform it, for which end hee kept her soe boulted up, and invironed, as shee cannot otherwise escape.

This was truly the case of the confederate Catholicks at the beginning of the Warr, they were boulted up in an Iland, as that woeman in the Chamber; there was noe doore open for them, then by preventing the Presbiterians blooddy designe; if this they had not done, there had been an end of them all.

Richard Bealings Esquire to Vrbanus 8s; from the body of Irish Catholicks, and the Lord Bishop of Fernes, and Sir Nicholas Plunket sent to Innocentius X. did not tell those Popes they come from a body of Rebells, but from a people Catholick the King of England's subjects, and for such they were respected, and vissited by the greatest Princes and Cardinalls in the Citty: and foure of the gravest Cardinalls were deputed by Pope Innocentius to heare the two last, as Caponi, Spada, Carassa, and Pansirolli Cardinall Secretari, and the afforsaid Bishop and Noble Gentlemen, were esteemed over all the Citty for good Catholicks, good subjects, and able men; and with other instructions received commaunds from theire Holliness to the people of Ireland, to

continue constant in the Catholick Religion, and Loyalty to theire King.

Thus much I thought fitt to say by way of digression for Iustifying our warr that it was noe Rebellion, and that this argument of Orery, the King call'd the warr of the Irish Catholicks a Rebellion, ergo it is a Rebellion doth not hould.

It is true, it is a received maxim that the King can wrong noe man. The Reason is, because the King is the Fountain of Iustice, and must be supposed not to have a will to wrong or offend any of his people. But there is noe maxim that the King may not be informed by Evil men or Counsells, to the Distruction of his people, which hath been often done by Statesmen, and Counsellors, who seek after theire owne interest more then the preservation of the people, which is and ought to be the Kings principal care: in this Kinde the Lords Iustices in Ireland, Persons and Burlase with a malignant part of the Kings Counsellors in the yeare 1641. informed his Majesty that the Catholicks of Ireland without discrimination had entered into a Rebellion, when only some discontented men began a Revolution in the North, and those (as was generally spoken) men of small Estates, and broken fortunes, the Lords and Gentlemen of the other three Provinces, and all the Catholick townes, and Corporations having not taken arms, until forced thereunto for the necessary defence of their Estates, and Religion, (as above hath been said.) I doe

not heere accuse, or excuse the first rysing in the North, but I confidently affirme, the Nobles, and Catholick Gentlemen in the other three Provinces (and some of those in the North to, that did not joyn with the first Rysing in that Province) and all the Catholick Townes, and Corporations, lived in soe happy a state and soe opulent and rich, that they would never abett a Revolution for gaining other Mens estates; it is alsoe well Knowne, that all those have bin still faithful to the Crowne, and theire Fathers before them, as was well try'd in the Warrs of Desmon, Tyron, and other smaller Revolutions. Thus it happend, that his Majesty grounded his opinion upon the information of foresaid Parsons Burlays, and a malignant part of the Counsell, corrupt men, (who after fell from the King and adhered to the Kings Enemys, the Rebellious Parlament.) Those represented the body of the Irish Catholick Rebells; and the King deceived, and deluded by this information, call'd us Rebells, and our just warr a Rebellion, and to this day wee were not heard to speak for ourselves, and being unheard, ought to be reputed innocent. It is to be observed, that the first flame of the rising in the North, had been soon quenched, had Parsons and those of the Councell given a Commission to the Marquis of Ormond now Duke, to raise five thousand men, as hee demanded for that effect, with him had gon alonge the Catholick Nobility and Gentlemen, and soe

they had made a speedy work of it: But the plott of those Crooked Ministers of State was to involve all the Catholicks in the Business, and thereby to finde a Cullor of confiscating theire Estates.

Orery stays not here, but puffed up with his great Fortune and a gall in Pupe tells the world in a supersilious manner. That the birds of the ayre, noe, nor the flyes contributed less to his Majesty's restrauration, then the Roman Catholicks in Ireland. Orery this is to much, this great contempt of the Catholicks, coms from a great pride in you, and what you say is very false, for the harty prayres of the Catholicks (though with steel they could contribute nothing, being then unarmed, and closed up in prisons by you and your Companions,) have more contributed to the Kings restrauration then birds and fly's that want reason could.

Are wee bound to suffer this and other great contumelies from a man soe lowly discended, as to tell us, "the whole Nation is a beast, our Country a Pest-house and our Religion somthing that pinns us upon the Popes sleeve?" Shall wee endure all this from a man that hath bin esteemed one of Crumwells spyes, (to be a spy, is an infamous office) Orery if you are an Englishman (as you would have your selfe to be, and likewise the Duke of Ormond) it is true the Duke was born in England, and of an English Lady (som say, had hee bin born in Ireland,

hee had been Kinder to the Nation and favoured them more than hee did upon the last settlement) but his Forefathers have all of them beene borne in Ireland about four hundred and sixty years, and the house had the Creation of Earle in King Edward the third's tyme Anno Domini 1332. Orery you cannot say soe much for your selfe in the ranck of Nobility but be what you will, English or Irish, I will tell you what an English Gentlemen writes of you, (I have myselfe seen the man) disguised under the name of William Allen, in a most excellent piece, stiled "Killing is noe Murther", speaking therein of the quality's of a tyrant applying all to Crumwell, of the fift quality hee speaks thus, In all places they have their spyes, and delators that is, they have Fleetwoods; theire Broughalls, theire S. Iohns, (besides innumerable small spyes) to appeare discontented, and not to side with them; that under that guise, they may get trust, and make discoverys. Orery in Crumwells tyme was Lord Broughalls.

This noble Man hath used still against us, his sword and penn; but the latter hath made the deeper Wound, if men credit his writings; cannot hee live contented with a good patrimony, his Father provided for him, and a great lump of Catholicks lands the King conferr'd upon him, at once with the place of Lord President of the faire and goodly Province of Munster (a dignity his Fathers Child did little think to obtaine,

and a reward his perfidity against the Crowne did not meritt) cannot all these great Honours, Estates, and Riches satisfy the Man, unless hee see's innocent Mærdochæus hang'd on a high gibbet? The goodness of God (wee hope) will not allow, what hee desires, the extirpation of a Nation.

Noble minds ordinarily esteem the place where they, or theire parents have gain'd a great Fortune and Settlement: Orery's Father (it is well knowne) from a low state came to one of the greatest Estates in the three Kingdoms, hee was neither Sword-man, nor Gown-man, nor favoritt in Court, and yet purchased a prodigious estate, came to the Dignity of an Earl, High treasurer, of the Kingdom of Ireland, matcht two of his Daughters, one to great Geraldin Earl of Killdare (first Earl of Ireland) another to the Lord Barry Viscount of Barremore; hee used for his Motto in this his great prosperity. "Gods providence is my inheritance," a Christian, and modest one, which for all that signifyed hee had nothing left him by his parents. These things I utter not by way of reproach, for wee are all the Children of Adam, but to minde Orery a little of the low and small nest, in which his Father was hatched, that hee should not soe farr forgett himselfe, as to contemne and trample under foote a whole Nation, wherein are soe many ancient and Noble Familyes: and let him give me leave to tell him, it

is a great and an unwary Impertinancy for guilty and contaminated men to reproach the Innocent.

Hee that says much, or displeaseth others, must hear something will displease himselfe, as alsoe hee that goes armed against many, expects many armed against him. In tyme of usurpation those that commanded were very insolent; it was then indeed men could say of England, what was said of Athens: that there only small theeves were hang'd, but the great ones were free, and condemn'd the rest; wee hope it is not soe in England: however Orery for one man hath had the good Fortune to escape in all tymes, and on all sides, and to have a good post and place in Every government. It is commonly said, that against a mischief, badd parents doe to theire Children, theire is noe other cure than patience, but Orery being noe Parent, but an Enemy to our Nation, is not to be borne with, and it is more reasonable his owne confusion should be his cure, than our patience. The Catholicks of Ireland, look upon him as a great beast makeing a prey of all that's weaker, and really hee hath soe dealt with us, wherfore we may deal with him in the same way according to our strength, and if he is soe strong and in court soe much favoured as wee may not have him cited to make answer, the Court will give us leave to expose his vertues or vices as wee finde them written by others. In what I have

writt, I have done my duty, in strycking him that Stryck's my Country, for as Tertulean says. "*In hostem Patriæ omnis homo miles est.*"

I will here take my leave of Count Orery, minding him of what P.W. in his little Book stiled the Irish Cullours foulded, printed at London Anno Domini 1662. in pag 20. thereof he speaks of Orery to the Duke of Ormond as followeth.

"For indeed my Lord he appears to mee all along his writings, of the number of those, who see heaven, and all the hopes of the other life, as Mathematicians make us behold in a darke Chamber, what soever passeth abroad, through a little Crany, in such a manner, that all things wee see, appeare like shaddows and landsckip's turned topsceturvy. Verily, I take this Gentlemen to be abased soe by himselfe. And that after hee hath stopped up all the windows and accesses to heavenly Ray's, he hath made a little hole for the Moone, and all the blessings of the other life have seemed very slender to his distrustfull spiritt: and that hee hath put on a Resolution to make a Fortune at what price soever, and to build on earth like Caine, after hee hath almost renounced the hopes of heaven." If Orery be such a man as P.W. discribes him; if he hath not a trembling in the head, as old Cain the Murtherer had, hee cannot Chuse but have a trembling and great heavinesse at the hart.

After ending with Orery I finde a nother Kinde of snake in the grass *latet anguis in herba* full of poison, this man concels his name, wherefore I Know not (for hee needed not feare to write any thing against the Catholicks, when all things runn against them.) Likely his fancy was to throw the Stone, and hide his hand. Hee writt at London Anno 1664. a book full of vennime with this title, *Horæ Sub cesivæ.* In pag. 83. "hee affirmeth that Charles the second is not obliged in the least by any Law of God or man, of warr or Nations to Keep any one particle of the Irish Articles made or granted by King Charles his Father in the yeare 1648. to this purpose hee setts downe formally these words in pag 81. King Charles the second, May *Iure Belli & Gentium, & lege talioins*, without breatch of faith or Articles (not excepting those of 1648. soe much insisted on, and soe mightily pleaded for by P.W. by that just Law (soe often used, and prescribed by God himselfe) take the lives, and fortunes of all bloodd-thirsty Popish Rebells, and theire confederates, and associates.

This Godly man doth not cite in what Code or Book this Law often used and prescribed by God himselfe is to be had, nor can hee, nor doth hee give any other reason or proofe for his assertion then his own authority; which can be of noe vallue with any pious man. I appeal to all the noblemen and the worthy Protestant People of England if this is not rather the proposition of a

Murtherer then of a Christian Gentleman, This mans Book *(Horæ Subcessivæ)* P.W. did learnedly confute in an Appendix hee added to his reply to Orerys answer, and soe confounded him, that hee neuer writt word after in his owne defence. I remitt the Reader to what hee shall finde in said Appendix of this Matter, and after reading all let him Iudge as hee shall finde fitting and reasonable.

Can wee forgit to list in the number of our Enemys the Earle of Clarendon Chancellor of England, (hee deserves to head the first ranck of them) a man of Ruine and Distruction, a Pest to Catholicks, and Ireland. "Was not this Clarendon, this blooddy and covetous Statesman heard oft to say with a fierce countenance and passionate tone, the Irish deserve to be extirpated, and then hee would after his usual manner come out with a great oath, and swear they shall be extirpated. Good God what a heathinish Expression is this in the Mouth of a Christian Statesman, a Chancellor of Engelland."* (Is not a Christian King well Counselled in having near him for Chiefe Minister of State such a blooddy man voyd of all Justice and mercy.) But did this Athist (soe great an Enemy to Godliness can not be a Christian) think that God,

* Out of the Narrative of the Earl of Clarindons Settlement and Sale of Ireland.

that hath appointed an Angell for the Guard of Every individuall person, would take no care to perserve the body of an intyre Nation, but let them all be destroy'd to satisfy the mind and anger of a blooddy man.

Clarendon was in this bussiness like that Astronomer, or Philosopher, who look't upon the starrs, and fell into a well before his feet: hee had then designed in his owne minde the ruine of the Catholicks of Ireland, and very soon after, hee stole out of England, with a Guilty Conscience and Baggs of Gold in great feare, and left behind him his stately buildings, places of pleasure, great Riches, and the veneration of many that adored this man like an Idoll, (the glory of the man is gon away like smooke and his name rotten, and hated in England) and flying into France, walked over some Provinces of that Kingdome in trembling, like another Cain before any settlement of himselfe. *Iustum O Domine est Iudicium tuum.* And wee are poor soules as yet living as wee can, and hopeing for Gods mercy.

I am here to advertise my Reader of an abominable ingagement agree'd upon in the tyme of usurpation against the Royall Family; the contents will teach you how good frinds they were to the King that conceived this ingagement P. W. hath this oath page 74. of his reply to Orery's answer, and aptly terms it one of the oathes taken by the Saints themselves the fautors of

Crumwells Tyranny, and the wellwishers of his Kings-ship. Which runneth thus:

"I. A. B. doe hereby declare that I renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and the whole line of King Iames, and of every other person pretending to the Goverment of the Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions, and Territorys thereunto belonging, and that I will by the grace and assistance of the Allmighty, be true and faithfull to this Common Wealth against any King, single Person, and House of Peers, and Every of them, and here unto I subscribe my name."

Can any oath be more horrid, or can any written wickedness ascend higher? and consequently can any mercy be greater then the pardon his Majesty hath granted to the men that hartily took this oath?

"This ingagment was forced upon the Irish Catholicks in soe high a Nature, that those who would not take it, were debarred not only from the benefitt of Law, but alsoe expos'd to an inevitable danger of death, the Soldiers of Crumwells Army, being command by publick Proclamation, to kill any man they met on the high-way, who carryed not a Certificate about him of having taken that ingagment: Commands which were Cruelly executed on silly Pesants,

who out of Ignorance, or want of care having left theire ticketts at home, were Barbarously Murthered by the mercyless Souldiers." *

Make now a serious reflextion upon said ingagement out of the same Authors. "It is very remarkable, (saith hee) that they who devised this engagment, who hartily subscribed, and forced others to take it, shall not be questioned, or held Criminall, and that those, who never saw it, before it was administrated to them, who abhor'd it in theire harts, and were forc't to signe it to avoyd a blooddy, and violent death, shall be declared nocents and an irecoverable Sentence of Loosing theire estates given against them, and theire estates so forfeited, to be confirm'd on those very persons, who compell'd the proprietors to that forfeitur. *Obstupescite Cœli super hoc & portæ ejus desolamini vehementer.*"

I defy all the Annals, and the Histories of Tartars, Turcks, Scithians, or of what Peeple soever to produce soe horrible an injustice as this, or a more wicked, and Barbarous pranck of knavery, then those our Enemys have contrived.

King Charles our Soveraigne your Royall Authority in England maintains the Peer in his splendor and Dignity, the Commoner in his birth-right and liberty, you protect the weak from the oppression of the mighty, secure the

* Out of Clarendons Settlement and Sale of Ireland pag. 8.

Nobility from the insolence of the people, and by this Equall, and impartiall Iustice is indifferrently distributed to all the inhabitants of that great and flourishing Realme: And at the same tyme use is made of the same Royall Authority in your Kingdom of Ireland, to condemne innocents, before they are heard; to destroy soe many hundred Widdow's and Orphans; to confirme soe many unlawfull usurped possessions; to violate the public faith, to punish vertue, to countenance vice, to hold loyalty a Crime, and treason worthy of reward.

These are verities not to be doubted of in our days, wee feel them by sore tryall: but afterages will hardly admitt them, and it must be a very difficult matter to perswade those now, that have not been eye-witnesses, that the fact ever happened.

Now things being carryed in this nature, let your Majesty seriously consider, of whome shall God take account of our Distruction, of those wicked states-men who abused your Authority; or of your Royall Person, for not bringing those men (after our humble and publick prayres and petitions to your Majesty for redress) to the test and tryall of Iustice for having opprest us.

Consider Great King the prayer of King David to God:

"O God give the Iudgment to the King.
"And the Iustice to the Sonne of the King.

Why soe King David?

"To Iudge (saith David) thy people in Iustice, and thy poore in Iudgment."—*Psal.* 71.

The Royall Prophet here gives the reason, wherfore the power of Iudging, and Sword of Iustice is given to a King: to witt, that hee Iudge the people in Iustice, and the Poor in Iudgment. Which was not done; soe complains; the Widdow's and Orphans in Ireland perishing in poverty and famin, and the world abroad is in amazement, that this was not done, "Wonders (they say) were done after his Majesty's restrauration, Rebells made honest men, and honest men made Rebells by the Kings Royall pleasure," and all this brought about, by the cunning and wickedness of certaine Statesmen, wherby the King was cheated, and betrayd, the innocent People ruin'd and impious Statesmen enricht and magnify'd. Soe that the Poore Catholeck People have nothing left them, but to cry to thee O Lord.

"*Tibi derelictus est pauper Orphano tu eris adjutor.*

"*Contere Brachium peccatoris & maligni.*"

"To thee is the poore left, to the Orphan thou wilt be a helper.

"Break the arme of the sinner and malignant."—*Psal. nonus.*

Our Eyes and harts O God are turn'd upon

thee, seeing men have abandon'd us; O Lord when will the day come of our Happiness? when shall wee with thankfullness say to all the world.

"Our Lord hath heard the desire of the Poore, and Iudged for the people, and the humble."

Kings are more oblig'd to commiserat the calamity's of the afflicted then privat men, because they are the Fathers of the people: Iob a holy Prince in the land of Hus (some hold hee was an absolute King) did this. Heare him speak King Charls.

"I was an eye to the blind, and a foot to the lame.

"I was the Father of the Poore;

"I brake the Iawes of the wicked man, and out of his teeth I took away the prey."—*Iob. Cap.* 29.

This it is the poore Catholicks most need to have done for them, that the Royall hand will break the jawes of wicked men, and take the prey out of theire teeth.

Iob says further

"The eare hearing counted mee blessed, for that I had delivered the poore man crying out, and the people that had noe helpe.

"The blessing of him that was ready to perrish came upon mee, and I comforted the hart of the Widdow.

There are thousands of these weddows and

people crying out, comfort theire harts for they are perrishing, and let it be done (as God would have it to be done) by your Majesty, that the blessings of the poore may fall upon you as they did upon Iob, and all the blessings of heaven.

But why great King (give mee pardon for speaking to you) why have wee, your Catholick subjects of Ireland been neglected, even to ruine and Distruction; what did your Majesty see in us, that could render us incapable of the pardon granted to the Rebells in Generall? if our rising in arms (which was against our fellow-subjects, for our owne defence, and not against the Crowne hath bin Iudged a Rebellion by your Royall Father and your self, I hope you will hould us farre smaller Rebells then those that made open warre against the Crowne and your Majesty's, and in fine Murther'd your Father; why then are they pardon'd, and wee not? but in case our Revolution hath bin Iudged a Rebellion (and in case it had bine truly soe) upon the peace made and concluded Anno 1648. (The Marquis of Ormond having bin your Royall Fathers Commissioner to that effect.) Wee had an act of Oblivion from your Father of blessed Memory for all that had passed, and after confirmed by your Majesty: this act of Oblivion had wyp't away the Rebellion, ergo it can not rise, againe in Iudgment against us, nor can wee be punished for a Crime already forgiven: this being soe, why are wee cast of, why left under a staine of Rebellion,

the true Rebells being forgiven? why being Innocent doe wee suffer this contumely? why are wee strucken downe as dead men by your Royall Hand, Lands, Houses, Estates and all wee had, being conferr'd on men, which have noe right to them, our Enemy's, and one tyme your owne: they pretend noe claime to our Estates and livings, noe pack't, stipulation or convieance: by your Majesty's pleasure only (thats theire sole tytle) they hold all, and wee have lost all. By what Law are wee thus treated, and destroy'd, by that of God, or Nature, or Nations? all done against us, is against all those Lawes, and against the Law of England, to, a good Law, by which noe man is to be deprived of his lands and goods, but by a due course of Law, the benefitt of this Law was denied us.

Wither then shall wee turne, what are wee able to doe for our selves: the Father is not able to helpe the Child, nor the Child the Father, Mothers are weeping over their little ones languishing in want and hunger.

If wee are Innocent, (the Act of Oblivion hath made us soe, though wee had bin guilty before) why are wee cast out of our houses, despoyl'd of our Lands, and Estates, that our Forefathers have possessed soe many ages? If wee have committed any Crime or treason against the Crowne, your Royall Father, or your selfe (that was not remitted) it were a greater mercy, to hasten us into the other world, by a short and

violent death, then to condemne us to a lingering one, to be consumed, in coldness, hungar, and nakedness, and a shamefull slavery at home and in all the Regions of Europ.

Your Majesty hath been pleased to tell publickly the Peers, and People of England, "That wee abroad have followed your Majesty from Kingdom, to Kingdom, and that with all cheerfullness and obedience; that wee received and submitted to your Royall Orders, and betook our selves to what service your Majesty directed, at that tyme most convenient, and behoof full to your Majesty, though attended with inconveniences enough to our selves, and your Majesty Iudged this our demeaniour very worthy of Protection, Iustice and favour." Your Kingly Language the 27. July 1660. to the House of Peers touching the Act of Indemnity, was this: "I hope I need say nothing of Irelande and that they alone shall not want the benefitt of my mercy: they have shew'd much affection to mee a broad, and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them."

These veritys uttered by your Majesty are owned by our greatest Enemys; for such, and that wee sacrifised ourselves and all wee had faithfully, and hartily in your Majestys service.

Let me demaund here, where then have been Braghall, Coot, Cloathworthy, and others of that band, those Grandees your Majesty hath

been pleased to honour with great titles; the two first were made Earls of Orery, and Montrath and the last (Cloathworthy, that Knowne plunderer of the Queens Chappell, and summersett House an infamous man) created viscount Massaren? where I say againe, have these men been in the dark days of your Callamitys, and adversitys? what were they then doeing.

They were then stiffly struggling against your Crowne and person, and Laying about them with maine indeavours, that the Royall Family of the Stuarts should never returne to theire owne Dominions; (to which purpose they contrived the forementioned horrid ingagement.) In those days they stiled your Majesty only Charles Stuart, to call you King was a treason among them. And what is don in the end?

After all theire villanys, contempt of Royall Family, open Rebellion and warr against the Crowne, and after putting the good King to death: after our fidelity, obedience, and harty affection to your Majesty, and after your owne Kingly Testimonys, and expressions of the same: the matter hath been strangly carryed. How?

The knowne Rebells had your Majestys pardon, they were magnify'd, had places of trust and profitt in the common wealth, and to boot they carryed away our Houses, Lands, and Estates, by your Majestys Graunt under the great Seal. *O tempora! O mores! O Lace-*

ratam Iustitiam! And what is our lott, and share of this Tragicall play, after your Royall promises of all favour and Protection? wee are left naked and desolate, crying to God as those of Ierusalem did distroyed by theire Enemys.

"Remember O Lord what is fallne unto us, behold and regard our reproath: Our inheritance is turned to Aliens, and our Houses to strangers, Wee are Pupills without Fathers, the joy of our hart hath failed, our quire is turned to mourning."—*Ierm. Thren. cap.* 5.

This is our deplorable state: what your Majesty will doe with us, or for us, is only knowne to God and your selfe, and we are to pray that God will be pleased to incline your hart to such a resolution, as may bring us some comfort, which wee much need; "*Cor Regis in manu Domini, quocunque voluerit, inclinubit illud.*"

Give freedom great King to a poore Priest, to speak truth to your Majesty; it is noe new thing that good Priests speak to Kings, and God himselfe saith, hee will curse the blessings of those Priestes, that will not speak truth, and give glory to his holy Name; And the Prophet Malachias tells your Majesty, that regard is to be had of what the Priest says. "For the lipps of the Priest" (saith that Prophet) "shall Keep Knowledg, and the Law they shall require out of his Mouth: because hee is the Angell of the Lord of hostes."—*(Malac. Cap.* 2.) The truth I

presume to speak to you my King with all submission and sincerity is this. That your Majesty hath great cause to feare the heavy "Iudgments of God" for soe many thousands of Widdows and Orphans perrishing for want in the view of the world, by that fatall sentence called the bill of Settlement. Iob tells us God hath, and doth somtyme punnish Kings. "*Balteum Regum dissoluit, & cinget fune renes eorum.*" "He Loosseth the Belt of Kings, and girdeth theire reynes with a cord."—*Iob. Cap.* 12.

He Loosed the Belt from your Fathers side and girded his Reynes with a cord of sore affliction: and yet hee was esteemed a sober, just, chast King.

God, is a God of Iustice holding an Iron Rod in his hand stretched over the heads of all Kings, Emperours, and Popes, and tells them. "*Potentes, Potenter tormenta patientur.*" Ezechias, the holy King, when the Prophet told him hee should dy, turning his face to the Temple said. "*Quis est qui sic humiliat sublimes reges terræ?* Examen my Soveraigne, and ponder well the words of that good King, and how hee was frighted, hearing from the Prophet that he should dy. Dy you must great King, when that shall be God alone knowes, *Et post mortem sequiter Iuditium.* Those men that abused your Authority on Earth will make noe answer for you; your selfe must before that Tribunall, receive (as the

meanest of your subjects) according to what you have done in this life. Many men use to speak to Kings. *Omnia placentia.* But those will be found in the end flatterers, and false Prophets; I speake to your Majesty (as a Priest of God should speak,) naked truth, *& sic liberavi animam meam.* Your Majesty will doe well to sitt down, and deeply Meditate upon this weighty poynt, and theme, of eternall Damnation or salvation.

Having exposed to my Soveraigne our calamity's, ruine and miserys, and offered humble prayers, for ease and mercy. I now turne my speech to you my most deare and honourable Countrimen, for your sake I have spoken noe way minding redress, for what I my selve have lost, which was somthing.

If Iustice shall be don you, and cause of joy come from the Kings good pleasure and determination, prays God and the King for that Happiness, and pray to God for his long and prosperous Reigne. But if this shall not be done (God permitting things to goe on as they doe, either for punishing ours, and our Fathers sinns, or for trying our patience in this World.) Let his holy Name be ever blessed: beare patiently your poverty, and you shall finde poverty a great blessing: S. Iohn Chrisostome compares it with Martyrdome. *Egestas* (saith the Saint) "*bene tollerata facit Martirium.*" I do not think there

can hardly be any found in the world, that have come to a greater distress, and poverty, then that you endure, suffer all willingly for God's sake and you are sure of a Crowne: mind often that excellent sentence of S. Augustin. "*Sæculi homines, infæliciter fælices sunt, Martyres autem fæliciter infælices erant.*" "The men of this world, are unhappily happy, but the Martyrs have been happily unhappy."

This is your case, or very like it, soe as in your nakedness, your are happier, then those that have all that was yours, living in pleasurs, and plenty, Let this alsoe be some comfort to you, that you have but lost, those things you could not long hould, nor shall the present possessors long enjoy them. Though they think theire fortuns in that Land surely settled; they are but Pilgrims in the way as you are, and must part as you shall (and with more greef, and feare, for having more then you have) and then they shall know and feel Gods Iudgment for what they have done to you.

In all your afflictions, I shall pray and conjure you, to demean your selves like good Christians, paying faithfully to God his due, and to the King his; to the King Fidelity and Obedience in *Civilibus*, and that for Conscience sake; to God Veneration and highest Worship, which can not be performed without professing a true Religion, the same you are of:

wherefore let noe worldly preferments, or comodity's, that men can conferr on you; nor punishments they can inflict, shake your Religion, but hould the same constantly in all tempests and Storms, for of it depends eternall salvation.

And to speak at the present tyme of your great afflictions, imitate I pray you, the three Isralites cast into the furnase of Babilon, and you shall finde, as they did, an Angell to comfort you. They in the fyre blessed the name of God, when Azarias standing in the flame said.

"Blessed art thou O Lord, the God of our Fathers, and laudable and glorious is thy name for ever, because thou art just in all things which thou hast don to us, and all thy works are true and thy ways righteous, and thy Iudgments true, for wee have sinned, and don unjustly, revolting from thee, and now wee follow in all our harts, and feare thee, and seek thy face, confound us not, but doe with us according thy meekness, and according to the multitude of thy mercy deliver us in thy mervells, and give glory to thy name O Lord."—*Dan. Cap.* 3.

None of you have suffered soe much as innocent Iob, set him before your Eyes, invironed with the messingers of all his disasters. One of them said to him. The Sabeans tooke away the Oxes and Asses, and Killed thy servants, A nother said, a fyre from heaven struck thy

sheep, and thy servants, and consum'd them all. The third; The Chaldeans made three troups and invaded the Cammels. The last told him. A vehement winde came from the Country of the desert, and shook the foure Corners of the House, wherin thy Children were feasting, and falling oppressed them, and they are all dead. Iob hearing all this sad newes, blamed not the Sabeans, Chaldeans, fire from heaven, or winde coming from the Country of the Desert, nor did soe much as mention them.

"But hee rose up, and faling on the ground, adored, and said. Naked I came out of my Mother's wombe, and naked shall I return thither, our Lord gave, our Lord hath taken away as it pleased our Lord, soe it is done, the name of our Lord be blessed." (*Iob. Cap.* 1.) Bless you likewise the name of our Lord for all that hath befalen you, offering all up purely to his holy will.

One thing my honoured deare Country-men I seriously commend to your pious Consideration, the ensuing weighty golden sentence of S. Cyprian.

"*Deus unus est* (saith hee) *Christus unus est, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una, supra Petrum Domini voci fundata: aliud Altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum Altare & unum Sacerdotium, non potest. Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit. Adulierum est, impium est, sacrilegum*

est, quodcunque humano furore Instituitur, ut dispositio Divina violetur."—(*S. Cyprianus Epist.* 40.) Let the words of this most holy Bishop and Martyre goe to the hart of every one of you.

This one God hath created you. This one Christ hath redeemed you. This one Church hath baptized you and imbued you with the Elements of faith, and Christian Rules of living well: This one and holy Chare (of Peter) hath governed you, and all the Christian world in verity, and sanctity all a long from the Apostles tyme. There is but one Altar, and one Priesthood (and this only is the Roman Catholick Church:) hee that gathereth out of this congregation, disperseth. This Church only hath Keyes of heaven, and true Commission to save soules: any power on Earth, that seeks to pull downe this Altar, to Abolish this Priesthood, to distroy this Church, is Impious, Adulterous, Prophane, and Sacrilegious. The holy Doctour gives another Devine Counsel to his people. "*Nemo vos fratres errare a Domini viis faciat; Nemo filious Ecclesiæ de Ecclesia tollat: pereant sibi soli qui perire voluerint.*" That is to say, let noe man bring you into error from the pathes of our Lord; let none take out of the Church, Children of the Church; those that have a minde to perrish and be lost, let them be lost alone. Let Egan (a lost dissolute Fryer that lately fell) and this Sall, and all such prophane

men, that will not remaine in Gods House let them perish alone, seeing they will have it soe: doe not you follow theire evill example, Impiety and maddness, but wisely stay within the Ribbs of the Ark, the holy Roman Catholick Church *(Ad quam teste Cypriano) perfidia non habet accessum*, And out of which great Augustin assures us there is noe hopes of salvation:) And be constantly, and Religiously obedient to the Apostolick Sea, and to the man, that stands upon the Rock Clement the X. conspicuous for his Zeal and Piety, on earth the prime Lord of the House of God, with full power to guide and governe all soules in the way of salvation.

Praying God of his infinit goodness to graunt you in your great afflictions fortitude; patience, and comfort: to his holy Protection I commend hartely you and my self, this 23th. December, 1674.

A

NARRATIVE OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S SETTLEMENT AND SALE OF IRELAND.

PREFACE.

THE "Settlement and Sale of Ireland" is considered one of the most racy and vigorous of Dr. French's productions. It is a narrative of the events, which led to the most unjust and arbitrary usurpations, being confirmed and legalized by an act of parliament, bearing date 27th Sept. 1662.

Carte, upon the authority of Sir R. Southwell, attributes it to the pen of Peter Talbot,* but there is not a doubt that he was mistaken, and that the true author was the Bishop of Ferns. It was originally published, at Louvain, and is not better known, unless as a literary rarity, than the Bleeding Iphigenia; although this is difficult to be accounted for, as it was reprinted under the following lengthy title:—

"Iniquity Displayed, or the Settlement of "Ireland, commonly called the Act of Settle- "ment, made after the restoration of King Charles "II., laid open. Wherein, against all the rules "of Christian religion, common justice and true "policy, against the solid security of the Crown, "the peace and happiness of the English Mo- "narchy, and against the golden rule of doing "as men would be done by, Publick Faith is "violated, Honour and Equity trampled upon, "Loyal Proprietors stript of their native rights "and inheritance, in favour of Cromwelian re-

* Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. 384.

" bels, regicides, and others. Sent in a letter by " a gentleman in this country in 1667–8, and " now reprinted with some additions, by N. " French, 1704."

This reprint is as scarce as the original, and from a MS. note, in a copy of the latter which the editor has seen, it appears that it was "scattered" in Dublin some time about the same period; but was perhaps gathered up by the official authorities with equal activity. The late Mr. James Weale, a gentleman remarkable for his knowledge of the Irish authors and their writings, is the editor's authority for stating that it was published in Latin, French and Italian; (he had seen copies in these languages,) and its author had it also published at Seville with other of his works in the Spanish language, "about tbe time of the treaty of the Pyrenees," being assisted in these labours by the Professor of the Irish Colleges of that city. As a matter of course this publication was considered highly offensive and spoken of as libellous, by the friends of the Duke of Ormond and Clarendon. Some of these attempted to refute its statements, and an anonymous publication appeared in 1688, written by "a person of honour," under the title of *State of Ireland with a Vindication of the Act of Settlement, &c.* However, the deed itself requires somewhat an abler justification to defend it from the arguments of Dr. French, than the production of this "person of honour" whomsoever he may be.

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

EARL OF CLARENDON'S

SETTLEMENT AND SALE

OF

IRELAND.

Whereby the Just English Adventurer is much prejudiced, the Ancient Proprietor destroyed, and Publick Faith violated; to the great discredit of the English Church and Government, (if not recalled and made void) as being against the Principles of Christianity, and true Protestancy.

WRITTEN IN A LETTER BY A GENTLEMAN IN THE COUNTRY, TO A NOBLEMAN AT COURT.

LOVAIN,
PRINTED IN THE YEAR MDCLXVIII.

A

LETTER.

My Lord,

I have, in obedience to your Lordships Commands, set down in brief, the sad and deplorable state of the Irish Nation, and the apparent Injustice, and inequality used in the present Settlement of that Kingdom; which, in my opinion, (as I formerly told your Lordship) hath chiefly occasioned the heavy Judgments of God, which our English Nation hath sensibly felt these two years last past, and it is to be feared, our Sufferings are not yet at an end, if we do not take a speedy course to humble our selves, and appease the wrath of his Divine Majesty, who may punish us farther, with as much Justice, as we have (contrary to all Justice) hitherto oppressed the Irish.

It cannot be denied, but that the Roman Catholicks of Ireland have infinitely suffered, during the late usurped Governments; but they have done it cheerfully, and perhaps not without some comfort; having had all that time, as Companions in Suffering, not only some of the Nobility and Gentry of England and Scotland, but the King himself, and all the Royal Family; *Ferre quam Sortem patiuntur omnes Nemo recusat.* But now, since his Majesties happy Restauration, and during the universal Jubilee of Joy over all the Brittish Monarchy, that the Irish alone should be forced to mourn, being condemned to a perpetual Sufferance, far surpassing those they formerly endured under the Government of Cromwel; is a Calamity rather to be deplored than exprest. And yet I find very few of our Nation any way touched with a compassion of the miseries sustained by those their Neighbours, and that the Irish are not only vigorously persecuted by their Constant enemies, but that they are wholly abandoned by their former Friends (I mean their fellow-sufferers for the same Cause) who do not now concern themselves in their Sufferings. This consideration alone, together with the zeal I have always had for Justice, and the commiseration which Nature imprints in every man, are the motives (next to your Lordships commands) which induce me to undertake this subject. I shall therefore, by setting down matter of fact,

and by examining the title of the present possessours, as also of the ancient proprietours, discover the wicked artifices hitherto practised, to deprive the Irish Nation, not only of the benefit of his Majesties Mercies, but also of his Justice.

Broghil and Coot having by several Emissaries sent into England, felt the pulse of the English Nation, and finding the people generally inclined to concur with the loyal and successful endeavours of the Lord General Monk, in order to the Restauration of his Sacred Majesty, convoqued a convention in Dublin, of persons newly interested in that Kingdom, to consult upon the best and safest course that might be taken to prevent the restoring of the Irish Cavaliers to those estates which the Conventionists and their partizans enjoyed by the Usurpers bounty, and which they had great reason to believe, would be immediately restored to the ancient proprietours upon his Majesties re-establishment. In order to this resolution, it was agreed upon, that all the Gentlemen of Ireland should be committed to close prison, to render them incapable of contributing to his Majesties Restauration, in case his Majesty should choose to pursue his Royal Right by dint of Sword, rather than to condescend to such disadvantagious conditions, as the Conventionists did hope, and were fully perswaded would be imposed upon him by the Parliament of England. It was also concluded, that a man of parts and Faction among the

Presbyterian party, should be employed into England, to prepossess the people there, with the dangers and inconveniencies which the restoring of the Irish Natives to their ancient Estates, would infallibly bring upon the new English interest in that Kingdom. In pursuance to these resolutions, all the Prisons in Ireland were filled with the Nobility and Gentry of that Nation, whom no imbecillity of age, nor indisposition of body could excuse, nor any offered security answer for: Sir John Clotworthy, a man famous for plundring Somerset House, murdering the Kings Subjects, and committing many other Treasons and horrid Crimes, was dispatched into England. This person, who was always accounted as violent against the Irish, as he was known to be seditious, and ill-affected to Monarchy; no sooner arrived in London, than he filled the peoples ears with such dreadful stories of a new Insurrection in Ireland, (whereof counterfeited Letters were read on the Exchange, and several copies dispersed over all the corners of the City) that his Majesty was scarce warm in his Fathers Throne, when both Houses of Parliament (grounding their belief on Clotworthy's assertion) presented unto him a Proclamation, to be signed against the Irish Papists, who were said to be actually in Rebellion, murdering his Majesties Protestant Subjects, violently intruding into other mens possessions, with many other Characters of Infamy, ren-

dering them odious to all Nations. This Proclamation was published in London, on the third day of June 1660. notwithstanding that it was very well known at that time, that there was not an Irish man in arms in any part of Ireland.

Clotworthy, encouraged with the good success of his first essay, and strengthned by a new landed recruit of Convention Agents (among whom Broghil himself made one) having observed that a general Aet of Indemnity was ready to be passed to all his Majesties Subjects, and fearing that the Irish (if concluded therein) would be consequently restorable to their estates; presented a Proviso against them, to be inserted in that Act; but this Proviso seemed so unreasonable to both Houses (especially after that his Majesty had made a speech to them for comprehending the Irish in his general and Gracious Pardon) that they were fully resolved to extend the Act of Oblivion to the Irish Papists, as well as to the rest of his Majesties Subjects. But the Conventionists, after some conference with the Duke of Ormond,* (to whom, as 'tis said,) with what truth I know not (they offer'd that great Estate, and vast summs of money which are conferred upon him by the Acts of Settlement)

* The Duke of Ormond hath added as much to his own ancient estate, by the new settlement of Ireland, as would have satisfied all the claims of the just Adventurers. And Anglesey and Kingston little less.

See a small paper upon this subject at the end of this Tract.—Ed.

wrought so upon his Grace, that in the House of Lords he made a speech against comprehending the Irish Papists in the Act of Oblivion, saying, that the King had taken that matter into his own hands, notwithstanding that his Majesty had but few dayes before clearly declared himself for their being comprehended in his general Pardon; so that it was carryed against them, to the great astonishment of all persons of honour and conscience, that were informed of the corrupt wayes whereby they were excluded.

Neither, my Lord, was the exclusion of the Irish out of the Act of Oblivion, so satisfactory to the Convention Agents, if all other passages to his Majesties further graces and favours were not shut up against them: and in order thereunto, they prevailed with the first Minister of State (whom they had gained to their side, by what coloured Arguments he knows best himself) to recall the Commission of Lord Deputy, which was formerly given to the Lord Roberts, a person of known Honour and integrity; the Conventionists having observed that his Lordship was not to be won, upon any account to forward their design. This grand obstacle being removed out of the way, Broghil, Anglesey, Clotworthy, and Mervin, (with the assistance of Steel, Roberts, and Petit,) after three months labour, brought forth that monstrous issue of their brain, which was exposed to the world under the name & title of His Majesties most Gracious Declara-

tion for the Settlement of Ireland." This was their Master-piece, and hath been ever since the ground work of all subsequent Acts which were established for the farther Settlement of that Nation.

The first branch of the Declaration confirms the Adventurer in his Possession, the second secures the Souldier in his Debenture, the third satisfies the 49 men, the fourth assures unto the transplanted Irish the Land decreed unto them in the Province of Conaught, and County of Clare; the fifth makes mention of those Irish Officers who served his Majesty in Flanders, as also the Generality of the Nation who pretend to Articles. My Lord, Is not this a blessed Declaration, which provides in so large a manner for so many different interests; a Declaration that satisfies the Natives, and yet dispossesseth none of the Cromwellists.

To understand it well, we must amount a little higher, and call to our remembrance how the Rump Parliament divided the spoils of the conquered Nation, in the year 1653. Ten Counties were allotted to the Adventurers, twelve conferred on Cromwell's Souldiers, and three of the barren Counties given by way of Charity to the transplanted Irish; these, by computation, make up 25 Counties, the remaining seven (for Ireland contains in all but 32 Counties) together with all the Cities and Corporations of that Kingdom, were reserved for the Commonwealth.

Now this Declaration confirms the Adventurers, Souldiers, and transplanted Irish in their present possessions, and moreover, it assignes to several other uses, the seven remaining Counties, and all the great Towns of Ireland, which were not disposed of by the Commonwealth: one of the Counties being designed to supply the deficiency of the Adventurers lots; another, to satisfie the Incumbrances on the Lands already laid out to Adventurers and Souldiers; the third to reprize such as were removed from the Lord Duke of Ormonde's Estate, and the other four Counties, with all the Cities and Corporations of the whole Kingdom, (a pretty grant) being assigned to the Protestant Officers who served his Majesty in Ireland at any time before the year 1649. After this solemn division and distribution made of every house, and every Acre of Land, over all the Kingdom of Ireland, some 500 Irish Gentlemen (who served his Majesty in Flanders) are named in the Declaration, to be forthwith restored to their ancient Estates; but not, until Lands of equal value, worth and purchase, are first found out to reprize the Adventurers, Souldiers, and the rest now in Possession; a work no more nor less feasible than the creating of another Ireland.

My Lord, this Declaration was published on the 30th of November 1660. and at the same time Broghil created Earl of Orery, and Sir Charles Coot made Earl of Montrath; were

joyned in Commission with the Lord Chancellour Eustace, as his Majesties Lords Justices of that Kingdom; Sir John Clotworthy (who was also created Lord Viscount Massereene) Sir Audly Mervin, and some others of the Convention-Agents, stayed at Court, to draw up private instructions for the better executing his Majesties Declaration: And because Innocents, viz. such as never offended his Majesty, or his Royal Father, were the only people to be restored without previous reprisals, the Conventionists made it their grand work so to qualifie an innocent, that it should be Morally impossible to find any such in *rerum natura*, *virum innocentem quis inveniet?* Eleven qualifications were ordered for their tryal, and those so rigid and severe, that Clotworthy and his Companions (who had the wording of them) did verily believe there could not be a man found in all Ireland that should pass untoucht through so many pikes: for, not only the inoffensive persons, who never took arms, who never entered into the Confederacy with the rest of their Countrymen, if they did but pay them the least contribution out of their Estates, if they did but reside in the Irish quarters, although in their own houses, not only these, I say, were declared to be no Innocents, but such as lived all the Warr time in England, such as were with his Majesty at Oxford, and served in his Army, if they received any rent

from their Tenants in Ireland, were by virtue of one of the eleven qualifications, to be held for Nocents.

But among all the other qualifications, that of taking an Engagement (which was administered unto all his Majesties Subjects in the three Kingdoms) was a very Notable one; This Engagement was forced upon the Irish in so high a nature, that those who would not take it, were debarred, not only from the benefit of the Law, but also exposed to an inevitable danger of death, the Souldiers of Cromwels Army being commanded by Publick Proclamation, to kill any man they met on the high way, who carried not a certificate about him, of having taken that Engagement; commands, which were cruelly executed on silly Pesants, who, out of Ignorance, or want of care, having left their Tickets at home, were barbarously murdered by the merciless Souldiers: My Lord, it is very remarkable, that they who devised this Engagement, who heartily subscribed unto it, and forced others to take it, shall not be questioned or held criminal; and that those who never saw it, before it was ministered unto them, who abhorred it in their hearts, and were forced to sign it, to avoid a bloudy and violent death, shall be declared nocents, and an irrevocable sentence of losing their Estates given against them, and the Estates so forfeited, to be conferred on those very persons

who compelled the Proprietors to that Forfeiture. By this qualification alone, a man may judge of the rest.

To crown this grand work of Settling Ireland, the Conventionists (having worded the Declaration and instructions to their own advantage) prevailed with their great Patron, to have themselves named the only Commissioners to put in execution his Majesties Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. This unusual, and perhaps never before heard of course of Justice, (one of the Parties being made Judge of the Case) appeared so ugly and terrible to the Irish, that many of them could hardly be perswaded to believe, that his Sacred Majesty was restored to the peaceable and free possession of his Crown and Kingdoms, seeing the very same persons who tyrannized over them during Oliver's Reign, were now, not only confirmed in their former charges, and advanced to places of greater trust; but also newly commissioned with an unlimited power, to give a final and decisive sentence of all the Titles and pretensions of the unfortunate Natives. This preposterous way of proceeding, having not only incensed the interested Irish, but also scandalized all the moderate men of England, another course was judged fit to be taken, less [shameful in appearance, but in effect the very same: The New Court of Claims was annulled, and the Lords Justices were ordered to

call a Parliament, which met on the 8th day of May 1661. The Lower House of this Parliament was all composed of Cromwellists, and but very few of the Irish Peers were admitted to sit in the House of Lords, under pretence of former Indictments. This Parliament made the first Act of Settlement, which they entitled, an Act for explaining his Majesties Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. This Act decides all the doubtful expressions of the declaration in favour of the Cromwellists, & to the disadvantage of the Natives, it allows only a Twelve months time for the tryal of Innocents; but those Irish Gentlemen who served his Majesty abroad, together with the generality of the Nation pretending to Articles, (half a score persons only excepted, who were particularly provided for) are for ever debarred by this Act, to recover their estates without previous reprizals, which is a thing not to be had in nature.

My Lord, I cannot omit minding your Lordship of a remarkable expression in the Preface of this Act, "that the Irish Rebels were conquered by his Majesties Protestant Subjects, in his Majesties absence." These Irish Rebels when they were conquered, fought under the command of the Lord Duke of Ormond, his Majesties Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and afterwards under the command of the Lord Marquess of Clanricard, his Majesties Lord Deputy for that Kingdom;

and those Protestant Subjects who conquered them, were called, Cromwell, Ireton, Jones, Reynolds, Broghil, Coot, Venables, Hewson, Axtel, &c. who vigorously pursued the Irish Rebels, for no other Reason, but that they constantly denyed the authority of the pretended Commonwealth, and unalterably adhered to the interest of Charles Stewart, (for so his Majesties now Protestant Subjects were wont, in that time of Conquest, to call our Gracious Sovereign) but now a dayes they sing another note, and speak quite another language; having established for a fundamental Law, "that the Irish Rebels were conquered by his Majesties Protestant Subjects in his Majesties absence." This being passed, and the Royal assent given to it, Sir Richard Rainsford, and the rest of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty to decide the claims of the Irish, in pursuance of this Act, landed in Dublin, about the ..... of .....1662. and having some time to study the Act, they plainly understood, that none of the unfortunate Natives could be restored to their estates, but the ten persons who had particular Proviso's inserted therein, and such others as would prove their innocence in open Court. The Commissioners began their first Session on the .....day of February and the Court continued until the..... of August following. During this time, the claimes of near upon a thousand Irish were heard, whereof the one half was declared Innocents,

notwithstanding all the rigid qualifications against them.* The time limited for adjudging innocents being expired, Sir Richard Rainsford (a most just and upright man) would proceed no farther, expecting an enlargement of time to hear out the rest, who were 7000 in number, and who had as much Reason to pretend a title to their estates, (until they were heard, and condemned) as those who were already judged; for every man is to be held innocent until he be convicted, and specially those who durst venture upon so severe a tryal; for, that part of the Nation (which was involved in the War) did not pretend to innocence, but claimed the benefit of Articles. But this enlargement of time being flatly denied by the first Minister of State, the Court of Claims was at an end, the interessed party made Judges by Clarendon, and indifferent men not admitted, and the Parliament prepared an Additional Bill of Settlement,† which came into England in the Month of May 1664.

By this additional Act it is decreed, that no benefit of innocency, or Articles, shall be allowed from henceforth, to any of the Irish Natives. The words of the text, *pag.* 8. *l.* 22.

* In the Province of Vlster, but 3 of the Natives restored, *viz.* My Lord of Antrim, Sir Henry Oneil, and one more of an inconsiderable Estate. In the Province of Conaught, but 4, *viz.* the Earl of Clanricard, Lord of Mayo, Coll. Iohn Kelly, and Coll. Moor.

† Which the Natives call the Black Bill.

are these: "And it is hereby declared, that no person or persons, who by the qualifications in the said former Act, hath not been adjudged innocent, shall at any time hereafter be reputed innocent, so as to claim any lands or tenements hereby vested; or be admitted to have any benefit or allowance of any future adjudications of innocence, or any benefit of Articles whatsoever."

To salve this grand breach of Public Faith, the Law of God, and Nations, and to give some colour of Justice, to an action which is evidently repugnant to Magna Charta, and the Fundamental Laws of England, (to condemn so many thousands before they are heard) it is ordered by the same Act, that some fifty four persons of the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, (who likely deserved his Majesties particular favour, and whose Names are specified in the Act) shall be restored unto their several and respective principal Seats, and unto 2000 acres of Land thereunto adjoyning; provided alwayes, that the Adventurers, Souldiers, and 49 men who are to be removed, shall be first satisfied, by some other forfeited Lands, in equal value, worth, and purchase; The transplanted Irish are purposely left by this Act upon very doubtful termes, that in case of necessity (if the stock of reprizals should fall short) their present possessions might serve to reprize the Adventurers, Souldiers, 49 men, and Grantees already removed by the restored innocents, and the ten Proviso-men in

the former Act, or to be removed by the nominees, and some three or four persons more particularly provided for in this additional Act. The 49 men are expressly forbidden by this Act, to set or let by way of Lease, or otherwise, any part of their Lots within the walled Towns and Corporations, or at a certain distance thereunto, to any Irish Papists, under the penalty of loosing what is let, and forfeiting as much more. There is a general Clause in the Act, that all Clauses and Provisos therein contained, which admit any doubtful expression, shall be alwayes construed to the advantage and favour of the English Protestants, and several other Provisions are made, all tending to the designed extirpation of the Natives.

This destructive Act, after many long consultations; wherein the first Minister of State did alwayes employ the utmost of his uncontrouled power, to countenance the Cromwellian party, and the Kings Sollicitor General (who had the penning of the Act, made use of his Rhetorick and Knowledge in the Law, to plead in their behalf, the favour of the one being easily gained, at the rate of several vast summs of ready mony, and the promise of an estate of 6000 *l.* a year for his son; and the pains of the other, being modestly rewarded by a small fee of 8000 *l. sterl.*) this Act, I say, so well supported, was Signed and Sealed at Salisbury on the 25th of July 1665. (notwithstanding all the opposition given thereunto) and this in a time when the hand of

God visibly appeared in the great Mortality, which then began to increase in the City of London; and when I heard many moderate men say, "We are justly punished by God, for the injustice done to the Irish." It is now more than two years since the Act went over into Ireland, and the 54 Nominees who were to be restored (as they verily believed) to their chief houses, and 2000 acres of land, have not yet got, the possession of a cottage, or of one acre of ground; which agrees very well with Orory's rallery lately expressed; "That it was intended by the Act, that they should be only Nominees, *nomine* restorable, but not *re*, for that was never intended;" and yet the same Orory assured the King, that there was a sufficient stock of reprisals to satisfie all interests.

My Lord, this is the true state, in brief, of the Irish Case, as to matter of Fact, since the first day of his Majesties most happy Restauration, to this instant. Let us now examin matter of Right, and see what title the several interests obstructing the re-establishment of the Irish can justly pretend, to the estates of the distressed Natives. These different interests can be reduced to four principal ones; the first is that of the Adventurers, the second of the Souldiers, the third of the 49 men, and the fourth of the Grantees; we will begin with the Adventurers.

These are certain Inhabitants of London who in the year 1641. pretended to venture their mo-

nies to reduce the Rebels in Ireland, (but intended, as afterwards appeared, to destroy the King) upon the assurance of getting such a quantity of the Rebels Lands, in proportion to the summs they laid out, and in pursuance of an Act of our English Parliament, which then passed to that effect. By which Act, it is ordered, that the money so laid out, should be employed for the service of Ireland; and that, (after the Rebels were declared by both Houses to be wholly conquered) a commission should issue forth under the Great Seal of England, to make a strict inquiry through all the Counties of Ireland, of Estates forfeited by the Rebellion, to be disposed of for the satisfaction of the Adventurers. Neither of these conditions were hitherto observed; for the mony laid out, was all, (or at least, for the greatest part) employed to buy arms and ammunition to fight against his Majesty in England. The Rebels were never yet declared by both Houses of Parliament to have been conquered, nor any Commission issued forth under the Great Seal of England, to enquire after Forfeitures: It is true, that the remaining Members of the House of Commons, made an Ordinance in the year 1652. (without the concurrence of the House of Lords) that the Rebels were wholly conquered; and consequently assigned ten Counties to the Adventurers, without issuing forth any Commission under the Great Seal of England, to examin whether the lands therein contained were for-

feited or no. Of these ten Counties, the Adventurers of the doubling Ordinance (who were to have for their respective summs laid out, double the quantity of land assigned to the first Adventurers) have got a large proportion, because their mony was given to the Long Parliament in the year 1644. when they were in actual Rebellion against his Majesty.

The late King understood very well the nullity of this Act having never made mention of the Adventures interest in all the Treaties of Peace which passed between his Majesty and the confederats in Ireland; which certainly, so just a Prince as Charles the first was known to be, would never have done, if he had conceived himself any way obliged by that Act to provide for them. But supposing that the Act of *decimo septimo Caroli* in the behalf of the London Adventurers, had not been defective; can those of the doubling Ordinance expect any benefit by that Law? Can the first Adventurers, whose moneys were disposed to other uses than the relief of the Protestants in Ireland, pretend any advantage by that Act? nay, can those few persons of the first rank (whom we call the just Adventurers, and whose moneys were really employed in the Irish War) lawfully enjoy the Irish Land, until the Rebels be declared by the two Houses of Parliament to be wholly conquered; until a Commission issues forth under the Great Seal of England to examine who are

Rebels, and who are Innocents; and until, after performing those essential formalities required by the Act, they receive by a just and legal way of proceeding, their respective proportions of the forfeited Estates?

The first Minister of State (a Lawyer by his first profession) cannot be ignorant of these verities; specially when he perswades his Royal Master to speak after this manner, in his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland, pag. 7: "Therefore in the first place, in order to a settlement of that interest claimed by the Adventurers, although the present Estates and Possessions they enjoy, if they were examined by the strict letter of the Law, would prove very defective and invalid, as being no wayes pursuant to those Acts of Parliament upon which they pretend to be founded, but rather seem to be a structure upon their subsequent assent, both to different mediums and ends, than the observance of those; yet we being alwayes more ready to consult," &c. Can any thing be spoken more plain to prove the nullity of the Adventurers Title by the Act of 17. Car.? and could the supream Judge of the Court of Equity give a more unjust sentence, than to say, Although this party can pretend no right to the Estate in question, yet I am pleased to adjudge it for him? The matter in dispute is no less than the land of ten Counties, the parties pretending are the Irish Proprietors, and the London Adventurers: the

first enjoyed it for so manyages, they have their Patents and Evidences to show for it, and they lost it at length upon the account of Loyalty, fighting for the Kings Interest against the murderers of his Royal Father: the last (as 'tis acknowledged by the words of the Text) have no other title but what they derive from the Ordinance of an usurped Government, for having disbursed vast sums of money to countenance Rebellion, to pull down Monarchy, and put up a pretended Commonwealth. And yet the Land is adjudged for them, and confirmed to them and their heirs for ever.

The second main interest obstructing the restoration of the Irish, is that of Cromwel's Souldiers, who are not mentioned in the Act of 17 Caroli; neither indeed do they pretend any other Title to their Estates, but that of the Sword, which they have alwayes employed against the last King, and his present Majesty, enjoying as a Salary for their service, all the Irish Estates in twelve Counties. I do not think any man will be so impudent as to justifie this prodigious Title; I am sure their greatest Patrons never durst say they were just, but they said very often, it was convenient to confirm them in possession of other mens Land. And perhaps we shall not find many other States-men (among the followers of the Gospel) who will allow of a conveniency so apparent against Justice: *ruat Cæ-*

lum & fiat justitia, is a motto which better becomes a Lord Chancellour, then, let us not do what is just, but what is convenient.

It is indeed a most wonderful conveniency to dispossess the ancient Proprietour who fought for the King, and give his Estate to a Fanatique Souldier who fought for Cromwell.

To support this pretended Conveniency, the first Minister of State made use of a strong Argument, derived from the great power of the Cromwellists in Ireland; and thus he makes it out:

The English Army is very considerable now in Ireland, they have Swords in their hands, and they are in possession of all the great Towns, and strong holds in that Kingdom, it is not therefore safe to irritat them; Nay, there is an absolute Necessity (as the case stands) to confirm them in their present possessions; for we must not do what is just, but what is convenient. These words were often delivered in Counsel, as so many Oracles, and perhaps the great Statesman did not seriously reflect, whether the same argument might not serve as well to confirm all the Cromwellists in England, in their unlawful acquisitions of the Crown and Church-Lands, and so many Cavaliers Estates, whereof they were dispossessed upon his Majesties Restauration, without any great noise, and less danger; and yet they were then very considerable: they

had Swords in their hands, and they were in possession of all the strong holds of the Kingdom, &c.

My Lord, I have been all over the Kingdom of Ireland, and assure your Lordship, that the old Inhabitants and Natives of Ireland, are ten for one, and far the more considerable party; but large summs have made that corrupt Minister say any thing that seemed advantagious to support that other Interest: I am confident, my Lord, admitting them as considerable as he would have them, it cannot be half so formidable, as the power of that party was in England when the King came in. These were all disbanded in less than 6 months time, and now 'tis more than seven years, that a Fanatique Army is maintained in Ireland without any necessity, which, occasions that his Majesty receives no Revenue out of that vast and fertil Kingdom; Nay, he is obliged to send yearly a considerable sum of mony out of England, for the maintenance of that Army: for my part I cannot understand how the King might safely reduce the English Army, and that it should be dangerous for him to disband the Irish Forces, who were not half so numerous, nor so much to be feared as those in England. If the want of money hindred their disbanding at once with their brethren in England and Scotland; might not they be reduced by degrees, and by Regiments, in eight years time? I think it is sufficiently evidenced that the Cromwellian Party in Ireland

hath no more power than what his Majesty hitherto is pleased to grant them, by the advice of his first Minister, who upholds that Fanatique Army for his own sordid, if not wicked ends. Let that Favourite that perswades his Master to tolerate Injustice and Oppression, upon the account of a Servile Fear, have a care that he be not one day convinced either of malice or ignorance. *Rex est qui posuit metus, & dira mala pectoris, quem non ambitio popularis, & nunquam stabilis favor Vulgi præcipitis movet.*

The third grand interest, and the most destructive to the Natives, is that of the Protestant Officers, who served his Majesty (or the Parliament) in Ireland, before the year 1649. whose arrears have been cast up, and stated, to the vast sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterl. in satisfaction whereof, the best part of a whole Kingdom (which certainly is worth many millions) is conferred upon them. They are entitled to all the Natives estates in four great Counties, to all the Cities, Corporations, and walled Towns of Ireland, to all the Land situated within a mile to the Sea, and to the River of Shanon in the Province of Conaught, and County of Clare, to all the Debts, Leases, Mortgages, and Reversions of the Irish; for not only the real estates, but also all other pretensions and titles of the unhappy Natives are forfeited: and lest all this should come short to content this insatiable Party, the last Act allows them one

hundred thousand pounds out of the two half years rent from Adventurers, Souldiers, and restored Irish. Though the Roman Catholick Officers have alwayes faithfully adhered to the Kings Interest, and never deserted his service (as all, or most of these Protestant Officers in Ireland have done, when the Usurper prevailed) yet their being Papists disables them from any satisfaction for their service, which was a qualification not imposed on the Catholicks in England, &c. But since the Cessation of Arms concluded in the year 1643, there was no more fighting between his Majesties Protestants, and Roman Catholick Subjects, which makes a great difference between their Loyalty in point of merit, and that of our Cavaliers in England, who, out of a generous resolution, without any necessity, or consideration of private interest, did freely embrace his Majesties quarrel, siding alwaies with the best, although weakest party, which they maintained, for the space of six years, at their own charges, with the loss of so many thousand brave lives, who were all sacrificed as unspotted Victimes on the altar of Loyalty. How comes it then to pass, that a handful of Irish Protestants should be allowed 1,800,000*l.* for two years service, and that our English Royallists, who are a hundred times more numerous, continued thrice longer in serving the King, and whose pure Loyalty was never tainted with the mixture of any treachery, or private interest,

should get amongst them all, without distinction of Nation or Religion, but 70,000*l.* to be distributed among the needy Cavaliers, (who had neither Estates of their own, nor any Publick charges or employments) to keep them from starving? Upon what account should the Officers of four or five Garrisons in Ireland, that plundered ten times more than their pay came to, enjoy four large Counties, and all the great Towns and Corporations of a Kingdom, whilst the whole body of the Royalists in England are so much slighted, that there is not one Parish in the Country, nor one street in any City, conferred upon them? Will not the Irish 49 men allow us, that Prince Rupert, the Duke of Newcastle, Montross, Bristol, Barkley, Middleton, Rochester, Gerard, and several other Noblemen of England and Scotland, deserve to have their arrears stated and satisfied, as well as the Grandees of Ireland? Is there any conveniency, (for I am sure there can be no Justice) to provide for the one and not for the other? It cannot be said that his Majesty is obliged by the Act of 17. Car. by his Declaration from Breda, or any other Covenant to recompence in so large a manner, the mercenary service of his Protestant Officers in Ireland, without any regard to be had for the innumerable Sufferings, and present want of so many Indigent Cavaliers in England, who have not bread to eat, nor a house to lye in, and scarce a rag to cover their Nakedness.

To give some colour to this apparent partiality, the first Minister of State is forced to betake himself to his last refuge, telling, as for a final reason, That the Protestant English interest cannot be maintained in Ireland, without extirpating the Natives. And therefore, that the Counties and Corporations undisposed of by the Commonwealth, must not be restored to the Natives upon any account. The preservation of this Interest is now become *ultima ratio*, and the *non plus ultra* to all political debates; and seeing the Learned Gownman will needs establish it for a first principle, not to be denied, it is not amiss to consider more attentively this Idol, that occasions so much impiety. As for the Protestant Interest, I must confess, his Majesty is bound to maintain it in all his Kingdoms and Dominions, as far forth as the Glory of God quires, and the Law of Nations, and the several constitutions of particular places will admit. Certainly, no man (though never so zealous) will say, that his Majesty was obliged, when he held the Town of Dunkirk in Flanders, to extirpate the ancient Inhabitants, and place new English Colonies in their Room, for the preservation of a Protestant Interest. True Religion was ever yet planted by preaching and good example, not by violence and oppression: an unjust intrusion into the neighbours estate, is not the right way to convert the ancient proprietours,

who will hardly be induced to embrace a Religion, whose Professours have done them so much injustice: and as to the present Settlement of Ireland, it is apparent to the world, that the confiscation of Estates, and not the conversion of Souls, is the only thing aimed at. If by the English Interest we understand the present Possession of the London Adventurers, and of Cromwels Souldiers, there is no doubt it is inconsistent with the restoration of the Irish; neither can the new English Title to Land be well maintained, without destroying the old Title of the Natives; even as the interest of the late Commonwealth was incompatible with Monarchie, and Cromwels Protectorship was inconsistent with the Kings Government. But, if by the English Interest we understand (as we ought to do) the interest of the Crown and Cavaliers of England, I see no reason why it might not be preserved in Ireland for 500 years to come) as well as it was preserved there for 500 years past, without extirpating the Natives. Why could not the English Interest be maintained in Ireland, without extirpation; as well as the Spanish interest is preserved in Naples and Flanders; the French interest in Rossilignion and Alsace; the Sweedish interest in Breme and Pomerland; the Danish interest in Norway; the Austrian interest in Hungary; the Venetian interest in Dalmatia; and the Ottoman interest over all Greece; and

so many other Christian Provinces, without dispossessing the ancient Inhabitants of their Patrimonies and Birth-right? Forts, Cittadels, Armies, and Garrisons, Punishment and reward, were hitherto held the only lawful means for Christian Princes to maintain their Authority, and secure their Interest: such an extirpation was never yet practised by any Prince that followed the law of the Gospel.

But, supposing that the preservation of an English interest were so sacred a thing, that it may be held lawful in that regard to extirpate the old inhabitants of Ireland, who have received from the hand of God that portion of Earth for their inheritance, upon what colour of Title can our rigid Statesman design the extirpation of so many Families in Ireland, of the English race and extraction, lineally descended from the best Families in England, and those ancient English Colonies who first brought over that interest into Ireland, and maintained it there for so many ages? If this Cannibal English interest, gives no better quarter to the children of English in Ireland, what can strangers expect? Nay, what assurance can be had for the posterity of those very Adventurers and Souldiers, that after an age or two they shall not be likewise devoured, or displaced to make room for a new swarm of English Planters, upon the account of securing a new English interest: and those new Colonies also within an age after,

shall be extirpated upon the same score; for, the children of those who were planted in Ireland, about the beginning of King James his Reign, are now destroyed, for the better security of an English interest, as well as the posterity of the first English, who invaded that Country in the dayes of King Henry the second; so that to the Worlds end, if we follow this Rule, we shall never be able to secure the English interest in the Kingdom of Ireland.

The Grantees are the fourth and last in order, that obstruct the restoration of the Irish Natives: Their Title is soon examined, being only founded on the Kings free Grant; for it cannot be said that his Majesty was bound by any former obligation, or pretended conveniency, to conferr on his Courtiers and Favourites the Land of other people. Can there be any conveniency (not to speak of Justice) that the Kings only Brother, and heir apparent to three Crowns, should enjoy so many thousands a year in Ireland, of poor Gentlemens estates, whereof some had the honour to serve under his command in foreign Countries? And is it fit to expose his Royal Highness and his Princely posterity to the many inconveniences, and heavy Judgments which commonly follow illegal and unjust acquisitions? It is a remarkable passage, that Miles Corbet and other Regicides who went over into Ireland,

got a large proportion of Irish land, for no other service, but the execrable Sentence of Death which they gave against our late Sovereign, and that the Duke of York should now enjoy all that Land, by no other Title but that of the Regicides. The Land was given them by a Tyrant, for murthering the King, let the world judge of the goodness of their Title; certainly whosoever comes to inherit them, can have no better. I shall make no mention here of so many Courtiers of a lesser sphere, who have got vast estates in Ireland, by his Majesties free gift, and whom the first Ministers of State have purposely interessed in that Kingdom, to engage them against the Natives; whereby the restoration of the Irish is rendred impossible, and the satisfaction of Adventurers and Souldiers already dispossed by the decrees of the last Court of Claims, is much obstructed, so many fresh grants exhausting the stock of reprisals.

My Lord, I have hitherto set down in brief the hard usage extended to the Irish since his Majesties re-establishment, and examined the Title of the several interests obstructing their restoration. Now it remains to say somewhat of the undoubted right, and indisputable claim of the Natives, to those Estates which by Cromwels Decree, and his Majesties confirmation, are kept from them.

I will not take upon me to justifie their first

rising, (although I have seen a Treatise in Latin proving the lawfulness, or rather the necessity, of that war on their side, having begun it in their own defence, to prevent the general ruin and destruction designed against the Kingdom and themselves, by the Presbyterian party both in England and Scotland) I shall not excuse any Subjects presuming to take Arms, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the Authority of their Prince; I will only say, that by their Insurrection (how bloudy and barbarous soever some are pleased to print and paint it) four hundred English could not be found murdered in Ireland, as appeareth by the Proceedings (and Records yet extant in Dublin) of the usurped Power's severe enquiry, and their Court of Justice, that for want of men did hang women, not only without legal proof, but without any probability that they could or would be guilty of killing Souldiers, or innocent English. The Irish insurrection, I say, hath not been accompanied with that insolence and malice in the beginning, nor with those sad and dismal effects in the end, which other Rebellions have been guilty of, and some Pamphlets have charged the Irish with. They were scarce 22 months in Arms, when they yielded to a cessation, upon the first notice given of his Majesties pleasure, although they had then the upper hand of their Enemies; and it was known the Protestant party could not

be well preserved without it. This cessation was enlarged from time to time, until a final peace was solemnly concluded in the City of Kilkeny, in the year of our Lord 1648. by, and between the Lord Duke of Ormond, his Majesties Commissioner, in behalf of his Majesty; and the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland, in behalf of the said Confederate Catholicks. This peace was no sooner published, than all the Garrisons, Forts, Citadels, Strong holds, and Magazins of the Irish, were put under the Command of the Kings Lieutenant; all the Nobility, Gentry, and Magistrates, both in Cities and Country submitted to his Government. And though the English Rebels have been ever since very successful in all their attempts, yet the Irish, notwithstanding they were offered any conditions by the Usurper, held out, with an undaunted Courage, until the last Town, and the last Fortress was lost, and until they received express Orders from his Majesty to yield to the times, and to make the best conditions they could for their own preservation. It is remarkable, that this peace was concluded in a time, when the Irish Nation was in a most flourishing condition, having Armies in the field, and most of the Cities and great Towns in their possessions, and more than three parts of the Kingdom under their command, when they were courted by the Parliament of Eng-

land, and sollicited by some neighbouring Potentates, and when by espousing his Majesties quarrel, (who was then destitute of all humane support) they were to draw on their Country all the united Force and Power of the Victorious Rebels in England and Scotland, and consequently expose themselves and their Posterity to the danger of an unevitable ruine and destruction.

I know their Adversaries have practised all the artifice that Malice could invent, to perswade the world, that his Majesty is no way obliged to make good that peace which was concluded by the Authority of his Royal Father, and solemnly confirmed by himself. Those Articles, they say, were forced from his Majesty by the Irish Confederates, who ought to loose the benefit of all his Majesties gracious concessions, having banished the Lord Duke of Ormond, his Majesties Lieutenant, out of Ireland. It is easily proved, that the King was forced to take the Solemn League and Covenant, when he was environed by the Presbyterian Army in Scotland: but I do not understand how it can be made out, that the Confederates of Ireland were able to extort that peace from his Majesty, who was then in France. It will seem very ridiculous to say, that the Lord Marquess of Antrim, and the Lord Muskry (employed by the Confederate Catholicks, to solicit, in a most humble manner, for those articles which only contain a pardon for

the past, and the liberty of free-born Subjects for the future) should come to Paris with a train sufficient to force a Sovereign Prince, lodged in the Louvre, who was Cousin German to his most Christian Majesty. The other Assertion, that the Lord Duke of Ormond was banished out of Ireland by the Confederates, is very false; His Lordship being driven out of the Provinces of Limster and Munster, by the power of Cromwel's Army, and forced to retire to the Province of Connaught, from whence he took shipping for France, to inform the Queens Majesty of the sad condition of that Kingdom, and to implore some succour from abroad, which (if timely obtained) might probably give a stop to Cromwels conquest, and render him unable to bring his victorious forces out of Ireland, and defeat his Majesty at Worcester, His Lordship having appointed the Lord Marquess of Clanricard to Command in his absence, as the Kings Deputy, (to whom the Nation shewed all due obedience and submission) is a manifest argument that his Lordship was not banished out of the Kingdom by the Confederate Catholicks; for whom he named, a Commander in his own absence: neither can it reflect upon the generality of the Nation, what was decreed by some Prelats convened in Jamestown, whose unseasonable zeal was soon after condemned, and protested against by a general assembly held in Loghreagh, of the Clergy,

Nobility, and Gentry of the whole Kingdom: and the advantagious proposals then made by Cromwel's Agents, were generously rejected by that Assembly, the Nation having unanimously resolved to rise or fall with the Kings interest. But what need we any other evidence to prove that the Irish did not generally violate the articles of that peace, then his Majesties own words, in the Preamble of his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. "And therefore we could not but hold our self obliged to perform what we owe by that peace to those who had honestly and faithfully performed what they had promised to us," &c.

The Irish being at last over powered at home, though they lost their country, they did not fail in their Loyalty, most of their young Nobility and Gentry having followed his Majesty into foreign Countries, and resorted from all parts to side with those Princes who favoured his interest; when the King was in France, they quitted the Spanish service, and when he came to Flanders, they abandoned the French service, and flocked in great numbers about his Royal Person, having made up in short time, a handsome body of an Army, which rendred his Majesty considerable to his Friends abroad, and dreadful to his Enemies at home. These are verities that none dares impugn, seeing the King himself is most graciously pleased to own them in his Declaration.

"And in the first place, we did, and must alwaies remember the great affection a considerable part of that Nation expressed to us during the time of our being beyond the seas, when with all cheerfulness and obedience they received and submitted to our Orders, and betook themselves to that service which we directed, as most convenient and behooveful at that time to us, though attended with inconveniency enough to themselves: which demeanour of theirs, cannot but be thought very worthy of our Protection, Justice, and Favour."

My Lord, Is it not a sad case that the Irish Nation who sacrificed their lives, their estates and fortunes, and all the interest they had in their Country for the Kings service, who followed his Majesty abroad, and stuck to him in his banishment, when he was abandoned almost by all the rest of his Subjects in the three Kingdomes, should now be in a far worse condition, than they were reduced unto, during the Usurper's Reign? For then their estates were kept from them by violence, and the unresistable power of Cromwel's Army, but now they seem to be legally adjudged against them by two Acts of Parliament. They were then in hopes that God would one day re-establish his Sacred Majesty in a peaceable and entire possession of his Crown and Kingdoms, and consequently restore to them their ancient Patrimonies, which they lost upon the account of his interest: but now,

they behold his Majesty seated in the glorious Throne of his Ancestors, and themselves out of all hope of ever enjoying their estates, which are conferred on their (and his Majesties) enemies, by a final sentence pronounced against them; and (which surpasseth all the misery that can be imagined) they are eternally condemned by a Messias, in whom they hoped for redemption, and for whose sake they sacrificed their lives, lost their fortunes, quitted their Country, and forsook all that was dear to them in this World; and this done by the corruption and covetousness of two or three persons, whereof one was the first Minister.

The extraordinary merit of this Nation in his Majesties service, was fresh in his Majesties memory when he spake after this manner to the House of Peers, on the 27 July 1660. touching the Act of Indempnity: "I hope, I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my Mercy: they have shewed much affection to me abroad, and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them."

My Lord, To pass by Honour and Gratitude, (which some States-men little value) how shall we excuse the Injustice of these proceedings? Suppose the peace concluded in the year 1648. was invalid, and that his Majesty received no service abroad from any of the Irish Nation, can

he in Justice condemn 7000 Innocents, (before they are heard) inoffensive persons, who never offended his Royal Father, nor himself; let us suppose farther, that an innocent person could not be found in all Ireland, that every individual of that Nation were an obstinate Rebel from the beginning, and that none of them ever deserved the least favour from his Majesty in point of Conscience, Honour, or Gratitude, can our prime Minister and his adherents say, that so many thousand Widows and Orphans (though never so criminal) are not fit objects of his Majesties Compassion and Clemency?

That Kings are the Anointed of the Lord, and his Lieutenants on Earth, is an infallible truth received among Christians; and as they derive their power immediately from God, so they ought to imitate him in their actions. But of all the Divine Attributes, his Mercy, as it is above all the rest of his Works, *Misericordia ejus supra omnia opera ejus*, so is it that alone which Princes are most concerned to follow. It is by this heavenly Virtue, that good Kings have been alwayes distinguished from Tyrants, and that they appeared to their Subjects as the very Images of Divinity. I do not think that the English Crown was ever worn by a Prince more Benign and Merciful than Charles the Second, I am confident, there is no King now living on Earth, who hath given a larger testimony of his natural

propensity and inclination that way. How great then must be the guilt of those Ministers of State that cunningly obstructed the effects of the bounty and clemency of so good and gracious a Prince towards an innocent People; and perhaps not the least deserving of his Subjects? Their gettings by the Bills of Settlement spoiles their plea, and pretence for the promotion of protestancy. It will seem a Paradox to posterity, that the Irish Nation, which in all insurrections hath been pardoned, and preserved by the Royal Bounty of Kings, meerly English should now be condemned to an eternal extirpation by a King of old Irish extraction (lineally descended from Fergusius a Prince of the Royal bloud of Ireland) who of all the Kings that ever reigned in England, was most obliged to the Irish Nation, and that during the Reign of Charles the Second, (the most merciful Prince that ever wore a Crown) so many thousand innocents should be exempted from a hearing, and others from a General Pardon, which by a mercy wholly extraordinary, doth extend to some of the very Regicides.

These are verities not to be doubted of in our dayes, which after ages will hardly admit, seeing the like was never before recorded in Annals, or mentioned in any History: for, since the Creation of Adam to this day (and perhaps our posterity to the Worlds end, may be as far to

seek) we cannot produce another example of the like measure extended to a Christian people, under the Government of a most Christian Prince. The most bloudy Tyrants of former ages, even those Monsters of Nature, who seemed to be born for no other end, than the desolation of Mankind, did never extirpate their old Friends, to make room for their reconciled Enemies: so that it must be a very difficult matter to perswade those who are not eye-witnesses of the Fact, that the Royal authority of our Gracious King, which here in England maintains the Peer in his Splendour and Dignity, the Commoner in his Birth-right and Liberty, which protects the Weak from the oppression of the Mighty, secures the Nobility from the insolence of the People, and by which Equal and Impartial Justice is indifferently distributed to all the Inhabitants of this Great and Flourishing Realm; should be at the same time made use of in his Kingdom of Ireland, to condemn Innocents before they are heard, to destroy so many thousand Widows and Orphans, to confirm unlawful and usurped Possessions, to violate the Publick Faith, to punish Virtue, to countenance Vice, to hold Loyalty a Crime, and Treason worthy of Reward. The bloudy and covetous States-man who chiefly occasioned all this disorder, was very often heard to say, with a fierce countenance, and passionate tone, the Irish de-

serve to be extirpated, and then he would (after his usual manner) come out with a great Oath, and swear, they shall be all extirpated, root and brance. Good God, what a Heathen expression is this in the mouth of a Christian, who is expresly commanded to love his Enemies? Does he think that the Divine Providence, which orders the growth of Herbs, the fall of Leaves, and appoints an Angel for the guard of every individual person, takes no care to preserve an entire body of a Nation? and that it shall be in the power of one man to destroy the work of God at his pleasure; of such a man that could not prevent his own disgrace, nor avoid the many other inconveniencies which are like to fall upon him?

This proud Haman, who, joyntly with some few others, to get money for themselves, and estates for their children, contrived the general extirpation of the whole Irish race, but before he could fully compass his wicked Design (I must confess he went very near to do it, and if God had given him a longer continuance of power, he would undoubtedly make good his word) was forced, for his own safety, and the preservation of his life, to quit his fine House, forsake his Family, and bid his Country farewel, and to travel in his old age, in the dead of Winter, through so many dangers at Sea, and incommodities by Land, to seek for some shelter

abroad, seeing he could not be secure at home. *Justus es, Domine, & justum judicium tuum.* He is gone with all his Greatness, and the miseries of the poor Irish do still continue; however they are yet in being, and live in hope that the fall of their mortal Enemy may be a beginning of their Rise, and that his Majesty will now seriously reflect upon the unparallel'd usage hitherto extended to that Nation, who are deprived of the benefit of Law, Justice, and Publick Faith: the cryes and tears of more than a hundred thousand Widows and Orphans, being worthy his Majesties Princely consideration. And certainly, there can be no great difficulty met with to disannul two illegal Acts, which are evidently repugnant, not only to the Law of God and Nature, contrary to common reason, (and consequently void in themselves) but also to all sound Policy and reason of State; for that the true interest of England (as relating to Ireland) consists in raising the Irish as a Bulwark, or balance, against our English and Scotch Presbyterians. The Irish Papists agreed so well, and lived so peaceably with our English Prelatiques, during all the Reign of King James, and seventeen years of King Charles the first, that they seemed to be of one mind in all matters: and when the Presbyterian practises and Convenant began to disturb these Kingdoms, the Papists and Prelatiques in Ireland (as well as in

England) joyned their hearts and hands against Presbytery for the King. The great Earl of Strafford judged it was a true Protestant Cavalier interest, to raise an Army of Papists in Ireland, thereby to keep in awe the Presbyterians of Scotland and England: and indeed the Presbyterian designs could never have had been compassed, if the King had not been forced to disband the same Army. Then the Earl (now Duke of Ormond) thought it was the true English and Cavalier Interest, to joyn in Parliament with the Roman Catholick Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, against the Presbyterian Lords Justices and their Faction; and therefore joyntly with them, resolved to secure their persons, and seize upon the Castle and Magazin of Dublin, for his Majesty; but this their design was quashed by an inconsiderate attempt of some Northern Gentlemen, which occasioned the late Rebellion, and encouraged the Presbyterian Lords Justices to force the King's Loyal Subjects into desperate courses: but no sooner were the Presbyterian Lords Justices deposed, and imprisoned by the King's commands, but the Roman Catholicks returned to their duty, first by a cessation, next by a submissive peace, delivering the whole Kingdom unto the Duke of Ormond, and joyning with the Cavalier Party against the King's Enemies, and so continued until both were over powered by Cromwel.

Another reason why understanding men judge the Irish ought to be preserved, and their interest preferred before that of Cromwel's Creatures, is, that the English of Ireland are not able to defend themselves against the Scots in that Country; if the Irish be Neuters. The Scots are a people so numerous, so needy, and so near unto Ireland, so cunning, close, and confederated in a common Interest, that some of our States-men apprehend, they may soon possess themselves of that whole Island, they being at this present, not only Masters of Vlster, but spread over the other Provinces, and very well armed. Now, if dispair should dictate to the destroyed Irish, that it is their conveniency to joyn with the Scots against the English that possess their Estates, without question the English Interest will be lost in Ireland. It is better therefore that the Irish Nation be gained by restoring them to their own (such only excepted as had a hand in murdering English) than that a few Presbyterian and Phanatique upstarts be made great by other men's Estates, and the whole Kingdom indangered to be wrested out of our hands, and separated from the Crown of England.

Yon see, my Lord, that there seems to be as little conveniency as conscience in my Lord Clarendon's, and his covetous partners settlement of Ireland; yet I must confess this domestick

affair agreeth well with his Policy in foreign Negotiations. Until his time the States-men of Europe (particularly the English) made it their business to keep the scales equal between France and Spain, least either of those two Potentates might aspire unto an Universal Monarchy; But the Earl of Clarendon made it his business to utterly destroy Spain, and exalt the French King to such a height of power, that in a short time he might be Master of the Netherlands, and find no opposition in his way into England; and indeed had not our Kings conduct and courage been extraordinary, in closing up a new Defensive League so seasonably, and in concluding a Peace between Spain and Portugal, no part of Europe that is worth the Coveting, could be free from the French command. I hope, that as God hath inspired his Majesty to prevent by this League and Peace, the danger which corrupt Ministers drew upon us, so he will move him to establish a lasting Peace in his Dominions, by a just repeal of the Irish Act of Settlement; and thereby quash all the designs against England, that France, or any Foreigner may endeavour to ground upon the discontents of a destroyed, and desperate people.

Now, my Lord, that you have had this account of the transactions in Ireland since his Majesties Restauration, it were an act worthy your Lordship (being a Leading Member in the

House of Peers in England, and much relied upon in the House of Commons) to make it your request to his Majesty, that the business of Ireland may receive one Publick hearing, and all parties concerned appear by their agents, which if your Lordship prevail to get done, if the Settlement, as it is now established, be deemed just, will be happy for the Possessours, and take away all the Calumnies that the Irish do over all the world cast on the Managers of that Settlement; but if it appear not to be a just Settlement, then Justice in so high a degree will become the King, and his Highest Court, and will evidence the truth or nullitie of what hath been here offered to your Lordship, by,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Faithful

and most Humble Servant

F. N.

APPENDIX.

Lands granted to the Duke of Ormonde by the Act of Settlement and Court of Claims. *Carte's Ormon.* 2 *vol. p.* 132.

Counties.	Lands.	Old Proprietors.
Gallway	Moate, &c. . .	. Mr. Kelly
Kildare	Rathcoffy, &c. .	. Mr. Nicholas Wogan
	Kilrush, &c. .	. Morris Fitzgerald
Meath	Dunboyne, &c. .	. Lord Dunboyne
Dublin	Balcony, &c. .	. George Blackney
	Kinure, &c. . .	. Patrick Walsh
Waterford	Carrigbegg, &c.	. James Butler
Catherlogh	Milhill, &c. . .	. Ulicke Wall
	Kilcorle, &c. .	. Edm. Birne
	Balliceally, &c. .	. Gerald Nolan
Kilkenny	Balligowen, alias Smith'stown* & New-Church,	Walter Walsh
	Rathana, &c. .	. Mr. Archer
	Rathardmoore .	. Pierce Shortall
	Tubrid, &c. .	. Robert Shortall
Tipperary	Ballynoran . .	. Pierce Butler
	Myler's-town .	. John White
	Hussey's-town .	. Edward Butler
	Fleming's-town.	. Edmond Prendergast
	Moore-town, &c.	. David Walsh

* Smith's-town contained 834 acres, and New-Church 116 acres, two rood and eight pole, and was granted by the Duke to Robert Walsh and his heirs male, for the rent of £5. a year.

Counties.	Lands.	Old Proprietors.
Tipperary	Borrinduffe, &c.	Nicholas Whyte
	Rathloose, &c.	Thomas Whyte
	Knocklosty, &c.	Theo. Butler
	Bathcastin	Tho. Butler
	James-town	Solomon Whyte
	Orchard's-town	Edmond Bray
	Loghlohery	Morris Keating
	Deregrath, &c.	Richard Keating
	Boytonrath	Edmond Butler
	Castle-Moyle, &c.	Walter Butler
	Shanbally Duffe	Pierce Butler
	Ballinree	Walter Butler
	Rathconne	Sir Richard Everard
	Brechindowne, &c.	Thomas Butler James Butler
	Miler's-town.	Walter Hackett
	Ballihomucke	Richard Birmingham
	Tyllocaslane.	Piers Butler
	Ballinadlea	William Butler
	Balliowen, &c.	Simon Salt
	Bulliknocke	Redmond Magrath
	Cloran	Robert Shee
	Miltown	Lord Dunboyne
	Tullaghmaine, &c.	Richard Comin
	Coolenagon	Edmond Hogan
	Toburbryen	Dan. Ryan
	Lislin Franca	W. Burks
	Moinarde	Edm. Heyden
	Archer's-town	James Archer
	Cloghmartin.	James Butler
	Tullomain James	Lord Skerryn
	Moynetemple	Edmond Heyden
	Boresoleigh	Richard Bourke
	Ballinneny	W. Kennedy Philip Glissan.

LETTERS

OF

NICHOLAS FRENCH, D.D.

BISHOP OF FERNS.

&c. &c. &c.

FROM

P. WALSH'S HISTORY

OF

THE IRISH REMONSTRANCE,

1674.

NOTE.

The following letters, as the reader will collect from their perusal, were written by Doctor French at different times, between the years 1662 and 1666.

The love of Ireland, which ever influenced this prelate, had induced him to leave the peaceful retirement of his college at Louvain, as we have already seen, that he might be present with his countrymen in times of trouble and of peril.

When these letters were written he was an exile, but an honoured one; and although in the enjoyment of much, that he could not hope for at home, yet he was dissatisfied, because absent from the object of his love and thought. With the hope of prevailing upon the Duke of Ormond, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to sanction his return to this country, he opened a correspondence with Peter Walsh, the historian of the Remonstrance, but it was of no avail; the Doctor, no doubt, "was a good man, a good priest, and a good bishop," as Ormond admitted, but he was a patriot and "had an intellect," which appeared in the Duke's eyes rather a dangerous compound, and likely to do more than contravene his other virtues, consequently he was obliged to continue abroad. Many of the Doctor's writings contain much personal allusion to this minister, very easily accounted for by the unjust treatment he received, simply because he was true to his country and his creed.

LETTERS.

"*The Roman-Catholick Bishop of Fern's Letter from St. Jago*, 18 *Junii*, 1662. *To the Reverend James Cusack, Doctor of Divinity, at London.*"

Sir,

By the four last Letters I had from you (to which I have heretofore answered) you demand from me two things, to wit, an approbation of a Protestation signed by L. B. of Dromore, your self, and other Divines of our Nation in that City, and that I would give you a power to sign a *Procuratorium* Father Peter Walsh hath from the Clergy of Ireland, whereunto Edmund Reilly, Antony Geoghegan, James Dempsey, and others, have consented, as you write to me. To the same I also willingly consent, and do hereby impower you sign in my name the said *Procuratorium*, but with this limitation, the said Father Walsh shall do nothing for me, nor in my name, touching the above mentioned Protestation, until he shall receive my own express sense and answer. The Protestation seems a

Rock to the Divines of our Nation in this Kingdom, and they wonder ye there made so easie a work of it: yet, of your good intentions *in illo facto*, most of them rest well satisfied, persuading themselves there was a necessity of undeceiving the Prince, and clearing our Clergy from black Calumnies; but they differ from you in the judgment of the matter, and lawfulness of the said Protestation. Briefly, the opinion of the Divines here, as well as of our Nation, as others, is *quod sit potestas in summo Pontifice puniendi omnes mortales ratione delicti*, which they aver to be St. Thomas his opinion, & *speciatim in cap. decimo de Institutione Principis.* This, say they, is the power *Innocentius* III. meant, when intermedling between the Kings of France and England (*nimirum quando ad illum Rex Angilæ detulit Regem Galliæ*) he said *non intendimus judicare de feudo, sed decernere de peccato, cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura, quam in quemlibet exercere possumus, & debemus.* For further proof of this power, they produce *Translationem Imperii*, and affirm this power of the Pope hath taken prescription for many Ages which they declare out of several Historians. Many of them will not be persuaded that ye have a probable opinion for your doings. But I have (as I think) manifestly shewed out of the little Book you saw with me, called *Strena Catholica*, that the learned School of Paris holds the same opinion you relie upon in the signature of your

Protestation. This being so, it could not be denied (I conceived it so) but the opinion was probable, that had for it the authority of so famous a School, *quia probabilitas opinionis desumenda est ex principiis extrinsecis.* After a view of what I pointed out in the said Book, some of them held that the said opinion had lost its probability by what *Paulus* V. declared *in duobus Brevibus contra juramentum fidelitatis Regis Angliæ, tanquam continens multa quæ saluti & fidei adversantur.* Now your protestation being the said in substance, *cum isto juramento fidelitatis*, that Declaration of *Paulus Quintus*, is against your Protestation, as well as against the said Oath. What shall I say more? the Schoolmen of France and Spain (if I rightly understand them) disagree as much about the lawfulness, and matter of the Protestation, as both the Nations do in their humors. For my part, I confess learned Suarez his Arguments and Reasons, *in defensione fidei, adversus errores Sectæ Anglicanæ, & præcipue quæ ab eo dicuntur in lib. tertio de primatu Pontificis, & lib.* 6. *de juramento fidelitatis Regis Angliæ*, are of great strength and force. Yet for all that I am ready, and heartily willing to yield my Prince all obedience and fidelity, all honest Bishops and Priests have done to their Princes in all ages and times, keeping ever to that old and sound rule of Tertullian, *nimirum, sic colere Imperatorem, quomodo Christianis licet, & ille expedit;* and

I abhor and detest from my heart that impious, and heretical Doctrine of John Wickliff, to wit, That a Prince, if he rule ill, or fall into mortal sin, is no longer Prince; but that his Subjects may rise against him, and punish him at their pleasures. Is it not a wonder the Kings Bishops do not pull this Hypocrite out of their Calendar of Saints (where Fox placed him in red Letters for a Martyr, though he dyed upon his Bed) for being Author of so pestiferious a Doctrine? I also abhor the impious dogma of the great Rabin of Geneva, teaching, That Princes Laws bind not Subjects to obedience in Conscience, but only for external, and temporal respect, whereby this precious Doctor of the Protestants sets the People loose for a Rebellion, when they shall please and find an occasion, expresly against St. Paul's doctrine, *cap.* 13. *ad Rom. Ideo necessitate Subditi estote non solum propter iram sed etiam propter conscientiam.* This is the man so much esteemed by the Protestant Divines of England, who notwithstanding, dared pronounce that dangerous position for Princes in his expounding the Prophet Daniel, *Abdicant se* (saith he) *terreni Principes dum insurgunt contra Deum; imo indigni sunt qui censeantur in hominum numero. Potius ergo conspuere oportet in illorum capita, quam illis parere, ubi sic proterviunt, & velint spoliare Deum suo jure.* The world may see, how civil a man this delicate Prophet using this fine phrase, *conspure oportet*

in principum capita, and is not this a learned Homily to teach Subjects obedience? but if a man ask Calvin who shall be judge between God and Kings, *an insurgunt in Deum & spoliant eum jure suo*, he will allow of no Judge in this high matter but himself all one, and consequently when he shall so please, will stir the people to a rebellion against their King, and depose, or make Him away as they list, because Calvin told them, *spoliavit Deum jure suo*, which is a sad lesson for Kings.

A late Letter from France, tells, that Tuam, and the rest of my Brethren there, have consented to subscribe your Protestation. Believe me, they would not do so here, nor dare do it, for many reasons I think not fit to commit to this Paper, but you may believe it is so, *& hoc sapienti sat est, &c.* For the rest were onely private business, and salutes to Friends. After which, he subscribes thus:

My dear Companion,
Your ever true Friend to serve you,
NICO: FERNEN.

"*His Letter to my self from the said place, dated* 19 *Sept.* 1665."

REVEREND FATHER WALSH,

THITHER goeth the submissive Letter, that lay upon my hands hard upon Twenty months

waiting for a secure conveyance. The Contents thereof are, I conceive, reasonable, and sufficient to give his Grace the contentment I desire. I am able to say no more against my self, then said Letter doth express, without belying my Conscience, and betraying my Fame, which I presume his Grace would not have me do. Upon this affair, that is, of so tender a concernment, I make this Discourse. Or the Letter will give clear satisfaction, or it will not. If the first, I shall be much joyed, and do my best to be there soon, depending with all confidence upon his Graces clemency and protection (as by your Letter you have insinuated I well may) of me, and mine, whereof my upright dealing and demeanour will still keep me capable, exercising secretly and warily my Function, and giving by Gods blessing no kind of occasion of disturbing the peace of the Countrey, or offending the State and Government; and so shall all do, upon whom I shall have influence; and if any change or revolution shall happen in the Land (it may happen so, though I have no ground at present for divining such a matter) his Excellency will find me as truly as any of the Kings own Bishops. I bring not with me the spirit of Dissention or Ambition, I aim not at Honour, or worldly Commodities (for I enjoy more here for subsisting me, than I can do there,) that I seek after (God is my witness) is onely and solely my dear Lambs and Flock (their fleece and milk are

in another hand, if he will content himself with both, and seek not to vex me, I will be patient with the lack of both) and to give a right account to my God of a sacred *depositum*, the charge of Souls committed by him to my trust and care. Which Commission can hardly be discharged by me without some toleration and liberty. Both I may in some measure enjoy, supported by his Grace's protection against surmises, murmurations, calumnies, and many vapours of that kind which will be elevated from the envy of men, that will hate me more for being the man I am, than for my enmity against the Commonwealth. Such men I foresee will seek to black my innocency, and in such an article I hope his Graces benignity will be a refuge to me. Truly if a person of my mind, who intends not; *abire in consilio impiorum, neque in via peccatorum flare, & pondere & mensura Deo quod Dei est reddere, & Cæsaris Cæsari:* if such an one may not pass his days unafflicted, I may well say that is a Lamb of misery.

But let us suppose the worst (which I hope will not happen) to wit, that his Excellency by my Letter, and clear intention, will not be satisfied; if so; I shall truly hold my fortune hard, having suffered so much, and so sharp afflictions and reproaches in Rome, Spain, and Flanders, upon the score of being taken for a great friend and servitor of his, and (that I may

use the language of those vexed me) a principal Leader in the Anti-catholick Ormonian Faction. *Collige ex ungue leonim*, by the confession of Father Patrick Hacquet. But one thing (which is more home) I will say to you, which I never said before (*in verbo Sacerdotis verum dico*) I have done his Grace a certain good turn that claims and merits (I dare boldly aver it) a greater recompence than what I now demand from him, or ever shall. If that with the contents of my Letter, and the good intents also I bear to heart, shall not be able to pacifie his jealousie and anger, I will say my luck is harder than that of many others, that have offended him, and less served him.

But if it shall come to that extremity, what is to be done? I seek advice from you that is a Priest and Missioner, whether I am to stay where I am, or adventure unto that Countrey? In my opinion it would be the resolution of a languishing spirit, if the fear of men in such an article, would be able to deter a Bishop from doing the work of God, and attending his flock. You know Kings themselves have no power to hinder those divine Functions. If I am put to it in this matter, I conceive my best answer will be that of the Apostles, *obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.* If St. Paul said, *væ enim mihi est si non Evangelizavero* (he said so, *qnia ei incumbebat necessitas Evangelizandi*) what

shall I be able to say for my self in the last day, if I shall in this short day of life, leave off this Divine duty for the fear of men? how shall I escape that anger of God? what priviledge can I pretend to, the Apostle had not? I going into that land with the Spirit of peace and meekness for attending the saving Souls in all humility and charity, intending to give all due obedience to my Prince in *Civilibus*, and to all those he shall appoint to govern under him; and to pay each one the Tribute due unto him; *cui timorem timorem*, *cui honorem honorem;* and in all my functions and proceedings, so to carry my self, as none shall have just cause to complain of me; and I confidently hope, God will give me grace and power to perform all I here promise.

Of this long Letter, which will, I fear, weary you in the perusing, as it did me in the penning, you may impart to his Grace what you think fitting, who may not as I conceive, be offended with any branch thereof. I conclude all with that noble saying of an ancient Sage, *Nocens veretur legem*, *innocens fortunam.* I may fear the last, being confident no just Law will ever do me harm. My great freedom, is an evident argument of my confidence in you, which indeed is great; for my opinion of you is better, and far more benign than that of many others, &c.

The rest were onely private business, and sa-

lutes to Friends. After which, he subscribes thus:

Reverend Father,
Your true Friend,
And affectionate Servant,
NICO: FERNEN.

St. James's in Galicia,
19 *Sept.* 1665.

"*His submissive Letter from the same place, but dated Sept.* 22, *the same year to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.*"

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

A FRIEND from them parts advised me to write a Submissive humble Letter, begging pardon of your Grace, and that after such a Letter nothing would remain to obstruct my going home, and your Graces Protecting me hereafter.

Your noble inclination, and desire of making Peace even with those have offended you, is so manifest, as I presume your Grace is of Seneca's mind, who said, *Penitens, est fere innocens;* being then in my self truly penitent for any thing coming from me, that hath, or could have displeased your Grace, I have made a fair step to be innocent in your Consideration, and I truly make account my luck is good, that am to appease an anger, that of it self begins to be pleased. I do not say this with intent to tickle,

or flatter your Graces ears: for this is not my Custom, who have (as is well known to all that know me) offended men more by freely speaking truth, then pleased them by flattering them. I will say one thing more (perhaps in some mens judgment insolent) that displeasing your Grace I am in less danger, then offending a man of a low condition, that should have any power to avenge himself of me. The reason is evident, because the low man, *Dum cuncta timet cuncta ferit*: But the anger of great Men is like a Thunder and Lightning, that bringing more fear than destruction.

To come nearer the Point, as a Christian, I may not deny a rational satisfaction even to the meanest person injured by me. Leaving that so, the question is, What is the Crime I should seek Pardon for, how great, and when committed against your Grace? for what hath passed before the Peace (if not Murther, or some black doings, of which I am no way guilty) the Act of Oblivion, giveth me, and all, a freedom and safety. Since the Peace I have faithfully observed the Articles thereof, and never betrayed the common Interest. There is not any man living can accuse me that way. But the doings of Jamestown are objected as Treasonable, a breach of the pacification, and an attempt of pulling down Kingly Authority. I was then upon a common bottom: and can truly say for one, and all of us, that we no way intended to

despise your Person, or Dignity, or act any thing against Kingly Authority, or the Interest of the Nation. The message the Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Kelly Dean of Tuam, brought from the Prelats to your Excellency, maketh this manifest. In what a lamentable condition the Kingdom was then, how little thereof, those faithful to the King had; being driven all of us into a corner of one Province, how unlike we were to recover what was lost, or defend what we held, no man knoweth better than your Grace. The King was also then in the hands of the Scottish Presbiterians, deadly enemies to the Catholicks of Ireland, so as there was no access to his Majesty. In the opinion of all, there was need of a speedy cure for the Nation in danger, or all was given for lost. The Prelats that met at Jamestown had some Months before in the Congregation of Clonmacnois (as your Grace knoweth well) co-operated to the best of their power with your Excellency, and made Ordinances for keeping the People in obedience under His Majesty, and in Union with one another under your Government, for there was fear the Enemy then Powerful, would debauch them from their duty. Our thoughts in Jamestown were the same we had in Clonmacnois, and all of us aimed at the safety of all interests, and represented, as we then conceived to your Excellency the right expedient of settling all things the best way the times did then permit.

If we have not hit the remedy, we had a good mind to do it without any mans prejudice. Let therefore the World deal with us (that walked *bona fide*) as they do with Physicians, who are not punished for missing the Cure, when they have done their best endeavours; and let those that are pleased to condemn the Fact, at least excuse our intentions, which excuseth us before God. For these, and other reasons I can alledge, I am, as I conceive, able to clear my self from blame: (certain I am, I had not the mind of incurring blame) if questioned before an indifferent, and well informed Judge; unquestioned I cannot be justly Condemned. If I shall say about the doings of Jamestown, other then what I said, which is the true *dictamen* of my Soul, I shall belye my self, and betray my fame; which is a sin before God. Yet for all this, I had rather in this particular, and all other of this kind, depend upon his Majesties Clemency, and your Graces benignity, than mine innocency.

My fault (I will not be so great an Hypocrite as to excuse it) committed against your Grace was a culpable Passion of speaking and writing severely of some of some of your doings after the Peace. And for this, none hath been more angry with me than my self, none more afflicted: for malice against your Person, Dignity, or any your Interest, I am, and have been ever free. How this Scintilla of misunderstanding between

your Grace, and me, was first inkindled, and what persons, suspitions, and mistakes gave growth thereunto, it skilleth not to speak in this place. But, I take God to witness, I never writ a line until much provoked by the doings of some people. More than I have said against my self, no man is justly able to say.

Now if Augustus Cesar a Pagan, did heartily pardon Lucius Cinna, who resolved to kill him at the Altar, offering Sacrifice; will not your Grace, a Christian, freely forgive me for a Passion of Nature (that is my only offence) far different in blackness from Cynna's murthering mind.

My Lord, a great Mind becometh a great Fortune, and a great Clemency is the companion and greatest honour of both. As your grace hath the two first, let the pardon I demand granted, tell me you have the last, and give me leave to speak freely to your Grace in Seneca's Language; that to a great man many punishments are as dishonourable, as many funerals to a Physician.

Having ingeniously confessed all I can say against my self, I have reason to expect your Grace's Pardon and Protection, which I pray may be signified unto me by some one of your trusty Secretaries, that I may know the waters of your anger are fallen.

My Lord, where I am, I am well looked upon, and enjoy a subsistence competent and decent for quality; whereas going home, I have

nothing before me for relieving me, my Church and Lands being transferred to another hand, most of all my friends are dead and gone, a few worthy Gentlemen allied to me (who have a willingness to subsist me) live themselves in poverty, and in great fear they will not be restored to their own. Notwithstanding all those incommodities, if my weak forces (for I am afflicted with many sharp pangs of infirmity) will serve me, and that I may enjoy your Grace's Protection for discharging a trust God put upon me, I am resolved to set forward. Were it not for this reason of duty to God, and love to my Flock; your Grace may confidently believe, my exile would be more pleasing than my Countrey. God prosper and protect your Grace (for which I have now for some years heartily prayed) so wishing, with a submissive kiss of your hand,

(My Lord)
Your Graces most Obedient
Humble Servant,
NICO: FERNENSIS.

St. James in Gallicia,
Sept. 22, 1665.

THE

HISTORICAL WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. NICHOLAS FRENCH D.D.

BISHOP OF FERNS, &c. &c.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING NOTICES, HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE, OF THE IRISH COLLEGES OF LOUVAIN.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

THE VNKINDE DESERTOR

OF

LOYALL MEN AND TRUE FRINDS.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE narrative of a contemporary writer no doubt presents the most valuable material for the student who wishes to use History as "Philosophy teaching by example;" it not alone preserves the minute events, so often overlooked by a subsequent historian, but it gives them with a colouring and freshness which often helps to make them still more valuable and instructive. In the pages of these productions, we not alone find the deeds themselves but the very thoughts and motives of the actors; and thus the scenes pass before the mind, leaving their impressions, and enabling us to approximate that certainty of conclusion which can never be arrived at except by a contemporary himself.

Of this class of Irish Historical Literature, to which we allude, and which is, unfortunately, very limited among us, perhaps there is no more valuable specimen than THE UNKINDE DESERTOR, being a narrative of the events occurring in a most interesting and suggestive period of Irish history, written by a most eminent man, Nicholas French, the master-spirit of the times. We could very willingly comment upon the contents of these pages, but such is not our present purpose; we confess we are one of those that would prefer to see the reader draw his own conclusions from the "examples" or experience which history affords, than to see him rest for a moment upon the opinion of another, truthful though it be. We wish to see a student learn a lesson for himself, that he might apply his wisdom to the opportunities that present themselves; and surely, in the political crisis that surrounds us, Ireland can ill afford to lose the help or sympathy of even the weakest of her children. Having thus far premised, we must, for these reasons, commit this "little book," without further observation, to the reader, with the hope that he may read it with a purpose, and profit by the perusal.

Like all Doctor French's works, "The Unkinde Desertor" is very scarce; the copy which

was sold at the celebrated sale of Mr. Townley brought thirty guineas. In the printed catalogue of the Right Hon. Mr. Grenville, the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, vol. i., p. 258, and in the *Manual* of the French writer, Brunet, as well as in all other works upon Bibliography, it is treated of as a Book of great rarity; and, notwithstanding this, it is now placed within the reach of the Irish student, of every class, at a price contrasting oddly with what he may read of in these authorities.

THE

VNKINDE DESERTOR

OF

LOYALL MEN

AND

TRUE FRINDS.

"In the land of the holy hee hath don wicked things, and hee shall not see the glory of our Lord."—*Isai. cap.* 26. *vers.* 10.

SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, ANNO 1676.

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THE PREFACE.

BANISHED for Religion, and Loyalty to my Prince (in the yeare 1652.) by Cromwelians then bearing sway, (wee were som fifteen of vs ship't in one bottom) landing in Britaine in France, I tooke my way to this Province not farre from Narbon, where I had frinds having liu'd there before: And heer I have been about 24. yeares very solitary, seeing rarly any of my Countrimen. Thus farre from Labans house and noys, I finde great tranquility and ease of minde in Magdalens silent contemplation.

When I have been forced a way, the Land was possessed by Philistym, they had the Arck captive, and vnder them my country was turned to a Babylon of sinn & vyce: Nothing was to be seen in the Streets of this Cittie but oppression of the Iust, iniquity, rage, and fury against Roman piety; the Altars falne downe, and the Priestes bitterly persecuted, some of them consuming a way in prisons, som cast into exile, and others chased in wods and mountains, like wyld beasts, all of them charged with two great

crymes: To be Catholick Priestes, and Loyall to theire king. All the Catholicks true to God and Prince, transplanted into a corner of the Kingdom. And this calamity they suffered with the rest, that Royall authority was layd a sid, and a Dagon sett vp (The tyranny of the vsurping Parlament) and reverenced.

This was the face then of that inchanted Iland: and they say things are noe way amended (as to Catholick natives) since the kings going home, that change having noe ways bettered theire fortunes, but that theire calamities and miseries (soe it is written from many hand's) are dayly increased, soe as men beaten with Scourges in Crumwell's tyme, cry out they are now beaten with Scorpions.

Often have I lamented all a lone for my deare Countrys desolation, and found my greefe inconsolable, because I saw noe end of their sufferings: Somtym it came to my minde, that if a sincere relation of our hard servitude and extremities were given to Catholic Princes with humble prayers, this would doe vs good; but a gaine when I called to minde that this had been don allready, and that able and noble personages had said these things in significant language, and that they had in all Courts but cold and delaying answers, I dispair'd of all releefe that way. One of our Bishops having been in Rome Anno 1652. *Ad visitanda limina Apostolica*, had conferrence with the then Cardinal Secretary

(after Alexander Septimus) his Eminency said to the Bishop, it was a sensible greefe to his Holynesse to see his Children of Irland a constant people in Catholick Religion soe sorly afflicted, and cast downe, and holy faith allmost extinguished, and that there was noe way possible to releeve them; the Prelate reply'd our wound is now indeed soe wide and feastered, as is very hard to heal it, but when it was fresh, not soe wide, and as yet curable, our Nation found no Samaritan that would power oyle and wine into it.

One thing I shall say; worthy to be written in Characters of gold, that a Catholick Prince driven out of his owne Dominions, was hee that offered fairest *Ad rem Catholicorum in Hibernia restituendam;* Charles P. M. late Duke of Loraine a Cæsar in fortitude and Resolution, one of the greatest Captaines Europ had seen for som ages, a Prince, that by longe experience of crosses and Calamities made the world know, *Quod sciverit fortia agere, & fortia pati.*

To this Duke were sent from Irland Anno 1651. *Stilo veteri* a Bishop & a Chevalier of high quality from the Clergy; and from the then Visroy or Lord Deputy and the people a Viscount and two noble Chevaliers, all able men and fitt to manage soe important a business, as that was. The Duke received them with all afability, and after a deliberation, and debate of som monthes, they proceeded to an agreement very advan-

tagious to Catholick Religion, the king, and Nation; the sum of this capitulation was, that his highness vndertook to warr vpon the Rebelling Parlament, to pay the Army and to furnish Cannon and all war-like Amunition vntill the Kingdom were recovered; and those vndertook in behalfe of the Nation to reimbours his highness, and to give him for Caution som townes; his Highness medled not at all with the civill goverment of the Kingdom, but only with the Militia, and was ingag'd to restore the Cautionary townes, his disboursments being payd. The Duke advanced twenty thousand pistols in ready mony, six thousand therof went over with his Envoy the Abbot of S. Catharin, whoe tooke vp fourteen thousand more of the Marchants in Irland, which som was payd them in Antwerp by the Dukes order.

His Highness sent over two little vessels with Amunition and Armes, which arrived, and two other little vessels were taken vpon the Coast of Britanie: The whole came to som thirty thousand pistols; and was not this a Princly and magnificent liberality of a Duke then out of his owne Country? But let noe man wonder at this, it being naturall to the great Dukes of Loraine to fight Battles for holy Religion, and the house of God in all extremities; and what other can be expected from Princes descending from Godefry king of Hierusalem? I should fill a vollume, if I should speak at large of his warlike feats and

vallour, let the day and Battle of Nortingham alone speak, wherein were slaine 18000 Swedes; to his vallour and conduct was attributed a great share of this victory: *Vno verbo* in all encounters, hee play'd a souldiers part as well as that of a Captaine; *Et licet fuerit maximus Imperio militari, fuit tamen major exemplo fortitudinis.* This digression, and mention of his high exploits and fortitude, is a gratitude due from mee to his highness, who hath been a patron and father to my Countrimen in theire exile; and confident I am God will poure blessings aboundantly vpon his gallant Childe Prince de Vaudemont, and noe less on his Nephew present Duke Charles of Loraine a Prince of great expectation, and on the whole family a most glorious house, that hath evermore defended and protected the Catholick Church.

To speak of the greatness, antiquity, and splendor of the house of Loraine is but to hold a candle to the sunne; All Europ knowes the puissance and piety of the house of Guise (a branch of Loraine) which gave a Queen to Scottland Mary second wife to King Iames the fifth., mother to Queen Mary of Scotts (put to death in England by Cruell Elizabeth) great Grandmother to King Charles the second, by her right hee is true Heire and King of the three Kingdoms. There are other noble Families in France, as D'lbouf, Maine, Ioyes, Har-

cour, and many more, golden streames flowing from theire fountaine the house of Guise, (as that from Loraine) those houses have alsoe given most Excellent Heroes and Captains, all of them ever true to the holy Church, and Loyall to theire Princes, the most Christian Kings.

Soone after the a forsaid Capitulation was perfected, our King arriving at Paris, (after the defeat and Roote of his army at Worcester) the Duke demanded his Royall assent to the agreement hee had made with his Catholick subjects: the King heervpon cald together his counsell, (Ormond was one of them) for giving answer; they Iudged it noe way expedient, that the King should agree to what had past between the Duke and his subjects at Brussells; Which seemed strange to all that heard it, seeing noe Prince in Europ took part with our King, but the Duke a lone. It seems this Counsell, (all compos'd of Protestants) would not have Irland recovered by a Catholick Prince, they could by noe meanes agree with two Articles of the Capitulation, the one; that the Duke had been accepted by those contracted with him, for Protector Royall of the Nation, they were less troubled that Crumwell, who had murthered one King, and forced a nother (the Present King) out of his Dominions, should take all, then a most antient Catholick Duke and his Majestyes kinsman should bee stiled Royal Protector of the

Catholicks of Irland, wheras soon after Crumwell was over all Europ called Protector of the three Kingdoms.

The other displeasing Article was, that his Highness engag'd himselfe to restore Catholick Religion in Irland in its splendor, and soe Catholick was the Duke, as hee chiefly took in hand our quarrell for making good this Article.

The Capitulation (from which wee hoped for preservation) being blasted in this Kinde, his Majestey Employed two Envoyes to the Duke, an English Protestant Lord, and Sr. Henry de Visque his Majesties then Resident in Brussell, with those the King returnd the Duke thanks by a Kinde letter for his care of his intrest, and desired him to treat with these new men; who were curteously received by his Highness; but at the second conference hee told them hee did not know what matter of Capitulation could pass between him and theire master, who had not at that tyme in his owne possession as much as one Citty, wal'd-towne, fort, or Port in his three Kingdoms; yet not withstanding if his Majesty would bee pleas'd to consent to the Articles hee had perfected with the aforesaid Catholick commissioners, hee would perform all of his part; which answer being not accepted by the Kings counsell, the Duke by a handsom manifest soon after, discharg'd his owne honour from all blame and Imputation touching the forementioned Capitulation and agreement.

Be pleased my civill reader to consider the deplorable and sadd condition of the Catholicks of Irland at that tyme. Theire spirituall fathers, the Bishops, and theire Lower Pastors and the Religious men assisting them in the vyn-yard, were many of them sent into exile, (in one yeare fourteen Bishops) the Noblemen and all the Catholick gentry haled violently out of theire owne houses, and lands, and shutt vp in a corner of a Province (naked and disarmed) either to be all murthered in one day, (there was a consultation of officers to that purpose, but they agree'd not, God would not have soe many Innocents Massacred at one tyme) or to perish in many days in famin, miseries, and servitude as many of them ended afterwards: The lawes prescrib'd to them, were cruell and Barbarous; if any of them went to a sea-port or to any other Province without express order and licence, it was lawfull to kill them whersoever they were found; to keep a Musquett, sword, or any other weapon, or powder in a Catholicks house, was present death; to receive or harbor a priest, was alsoe death; and there was a nother thing as yet more bloody. They framed an ingagement to be takèn by all sorts of men vpon oath, to obey the Parlament, and renounce the King and the family of the Stuarts for ever, and all took a ticket of having takèn that ingagement, and poor men, that had not theire tickets about them, were killd vpon the high way by the souldiers for not having it;

these were the execrable Lawes the Catholicks then liu'd vnder. The Lord of Ormond had governed the Catholicks as the Kings Lord Lieutenant about those tymes, but when Crumwell came over, and like a lightning passed through the Land, taking in Provinces, wall'd Townes, and Cittys; hee never appear'd, never fought the Enemy, nor releeved any place beseeged; (truly wee found nothing in him of Counsell or fortitude) and when all was lost but two Townes and one Province, (which were soon after taken) hee past into France, and left the Catholicks to the butchery.

The counsell by this means destroy'd the contract. And were not these Counsellors well affected to Catholicks, that vpon a serious deliberation would not have the Catholicks preserved, and protected by a Catholick Prince, but left to the mercy of Crumwell a bloody tyrant? The forwardest of all in doeing this Mischief was Ormond; this was the Kindness to vs of that man ever fatall to Catholicks.

An Italian gave to a great person, whose qualitys hee knew well, this Character, *Inimicus gravissimus*, & *amicus levissimus.* Which may be well apply'd to Ormond in relation to Catholicks; his anger to them was still inplacable, and his Kindness sleight and vncertaine, his frindship, was a Court frindship, much like those druggs of Apothicaries, that are hott in the mouth, and cold in operation; what good and faire

words did this Nobleman give to the Catholicks of Irland when hee came from the Queen and Prince in the yeare 1648. To conclude a peace with them? the words in his mouth then, were hott and comfortable, but when they came to operation, they were indeed but rotten druggs.

After this feat hee had don in Paris, (the casting a way the Duke of Loraines Protection) hee was with the King in the low countrys, and there hee dissembled and tampered with the good plaine Irish, and gave them good words and frindly promises of doing them great good, if God restor'd the King; the King was restored, and Ormond turn'd his sailes and playd another game, and stuck close to Clarindon, that studied our Ruin, hee then made a stepp further, and closed in great Kindness with Orery and the Crumwelians; the Catholicks claiming theire owne landes and estates produced good Evidences, Iustice and theire Innocency; (but those were of little value with Ormond, and Clarindon;) Orery with his band of Crumwelians show'd gold and pretious gifts, and those proved strong Evidences: Ormond then fell of clearly from vs, and injured vs without all feare, and commonly where there is noe feare of revenge, ill given men have noe conscience or feare of offending others; with Clarindon all things were vendible, and with Ormond all was lawfull, that was not vnprofitable.

I present you with a wise fable, and I think

to my purpose. Æsop says. *Heu mihi* (*inquit vulpes rubo*) *confugi ad te tanquam ad auxiliatorem, sed tu pejus me tractasti: heus tu* (*inquit rubus*) *errasti, quæ me apprehendere voluisti, qui omnes apprehendere soleo.* "A lass (said the fox to the great bramble) I come flying to the as to a shelter and frind: but thou hast handled mee worss then I was before: but the bramble said, a lass poor fox thou art a stray in taking gripe of mee, for thou knowest I scratch all that Handels mee."

My courteous reader, that Ormond hath allways been a great bramble cruelly scratching and tormenting the Catholicks of Irland, this little booke, I put in your hand, will show evidently. I have spent some houres of Leasure, God was pleas'd to afford mee about this little worke, wherin I set downe sincerly the malice, craft, Iuglings, and slights, of those, that have contriu'd our ruine; noe man will appeare vpon the stage soe often and frequently as Ormond, in acting his part in our Tragedy; this is the best account I can give to my Countrimen of my longe silence in my solitude.

I know my owne weakness, and the slowness of my tallent, but I had tyme at will for helping this; the sneile coms to the topp of the hill in her due tyme, as well as the Eagle, and with tyme and straw (as they vse to speake) men ripen medlers, and soe doe men theire affaires with leasure and meanes, and who will doe a thing well, must have patience to tarry till it may be well

don; I had patience and leasure enough, and at length I have brought my designe to an end, whether it be well done or noe, I leave to the judgment of the impartiall reader. I gave notice of what was don to a Doctor of devinity, a person of Emminent Learning, and to other frinds in Paris, they vrg'd mee with stronge lynes, to print all was don without delay: I alsoe writt to a venerable Prelate then living in Flanders, whose judgment I much esteemed, and the inviolable Amity between vs of a bove 45 yeares; hee quite beyond my expectation disswaded the printing, and gave reasons that seemed sound, hee would not blame those pressed mee to the printing, nor judge ill of theire intentions, but was of opinion, they had not rightly considered the more substantiall circumstances of the matter, and sayd, deare frind my advice in this point is. *Festina Lente*, hee suggested that regard should be had of Ormonds noble Catholick Ancestors, and specially of his Grand-father Walter Earle of Ormond, and of his owne pious parents, and of his Brother Mr. Richard Butler a Chavaliere of great devotion, and yet valliant in the face of his Enemy, and of his sisters, all of them vertuous Catholick Ladys; hee knew them all, and was well knowne to some of them: certainly I did not think this very reuerend church-man had been soe kind to Ormond, his letter hee ended with these lynes.

My worthy frind, I beseech you bee as kinde to Ormond, as the overseer of the vyn-yard was

to the figgtree in his charge, who, (when the Lord of the vyn-yard finding noe fruict in the tree as hee expected sayd in anger *Succide ergo illam &c.* "Cut downe this vnprofitable tree, why doth it stand heer and ocupy the ground for nothing?") Answered (grieving the tree should be fallne,) "I pray let the tree alone for a nother yeare, vntill I shall digg about it, and dung it, if it shall happily yield fruite, if not you shall cutt it downe." What can wee tell (sayd my frind) if Ormond may not as yet yield fruicte, and comfort all those hee hath afflicted. Have therefore patience with him for a while, even for the vertue & piety of his very noble Catholick fore-fathers.

I yielded to this venerable persons Iudgment, and suspended the printing from the yeare 1668. to this 1676. Waiting still what Ormond would doe, and if hee would relent, and becom frindly to his Country; but all this tyme nothing is done: The great Lord of the vyn-yard findes noe Charity in him, hee is allways the same, a hard harted-man, and our vnplacable enemy. Hee is still a high fig-tree, bearing great leaves of vanity, (but noe fruicte) sucking vp the fatt and sapp of the earth, and therby starving all the plants round about him, thousands of widowes, Orphans & Innocent soules: hee kept the heat of the sune from vs all, (the kings mercy,) hee barred all Iustice to be don vs, and the generall pardon to be extended to vs, (wee only have been excepted and excluded

from that Grace by this Noble mans cunning cruelty.) Wee have dig'd about him to longe, and spent our dung in vaine, Ormond will yield noe fruicte; (hee is a Babilon will not be cured.) God hath borne longe with his doeing evill, hee hath longe held his peace, but hee will not hold his peace still; hee will in the end cutt downe in his anger this high sterrill tree, vnworthy to stand any longer vpon earth; and for his sin and cruelty against his country and nation, will likely pull downe his house and generation, which wee noe way desire.

I make heer a sincere protestation before God and men, that I contend not against this Noble-mans person or dignity, I honour his noble Catholick house, and soe much care I have of his soule, as I am ready to shed my blood for doing him good that way; my minde therefore is, to deliver his artifices, perfidie, revenging minde, and rankor against my Nation, which I will doe plainly and faithfully, without art and passion, thinking in my minde it will redound to Gods glory to vex this Childe of pride, that hath vexed and persecuted soe longe, and soe sharply thousands of Gods humble Children, and brought them to distruction. I put an end to this preface letting fly an arrow at Ormond (a sharp-ended one) out of the Prophets Quiver,* "In the land of the holy hee hath done wicked things, and hee shall not see the glory of our Lord."

* Isai. cap. 26.

The Advertisment, of a true patriot to the Reader.

My father (well knowne in the country hee liud in) was pleased to send mee a broad Anno 1637, (three yeares before the Irish warr) to be bred vp in vertue and learning, and I made by Gods blessing that progress in my studies, as I came to a convenient fortune, which I am to Enjoy all my life: soe as I never intend to returne to my country, and yet I cannot in nature but love the people, and hartily lament their woes, calamitys, vnsuportable servitude. Demaunding from those exiled the present state of the Nation, they all told mee, ther was nothing to be seen at home, but *Luctus & pavor*, men, woemen, infants, widowes, and orphans, all squallid, naked, languishing and even dying with famine; *Proh dolor: denigrata est super carbones facies eorum & non sunt cogniti in plateis, adhæsit cutis ossibus eorum.* And all this tyme I saw none would speake the horrid injurys the Nation suffered. At length I saw a small book bearing this title. "A narrative of the settlement and sale of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Earle of Clarindon printed Anno 1660." There came out Anno 1674. a little treatis stiled. "The Bleeding Iphigenia," an excellent piece, chiefly against Clarindon & Orrery our capitall Enemys. But this last discourse called "The Vnkind Desertor of Loyall

men & true frinds," (The Author I have never seen nor knowne) proving clearly Ormond to have been the greatest Enemie the Nation ever had, (all men say the same) is the most excellent thing of all I saw, sound and well ordered, full of trueth, strong in sence, & containing faire & Christian documents; by which the author hath for ever oblig'd the whole Nation. This man tells the King freely, that suffering himselfe to be deluded by ministers of Ill meaning, (chiefly Clarindon & Ormond) they took the opertunity like two whales & monsters of Avarice & crulety to devour his faithfull subjects; wherfore hee pittifully complaines, that justice was not don to the oppressed.

Even with Pagans the opinion of sanctity and Iustice in theire King was great. *Magnus Cyrus non censebat convenire cuiquam jmperium, qui non melior esset eijs, quibus imperarit. Mexicanorum autem mos erat, qui quoties regem aliquem novum inaugurarent, Iusjurandum ab illo postulabant, quod Iustitiam esset administraturus, non oppressurus subditos; futurus in bello fortis ac strenuus; curaturusque denique, vt sol cursum suum ac splendorem retineret, nubes largirentur pluvias, fluvij manarent aquis; & terra suos proferret fructus.* And a nother Author says. *Annus bonus non tam de bonis fructibus, quam de justé regnantibus est existimandus.* God grant to all Christian Kings to rule with Iustice & peace, Amen.

THE

FIRST CHAPTER.

The long silence the Irish Catholicks *had with* Ormond *(Since the king's comminge in) did redound much to theyr losse.*

To know when to speak, and when to be silent, is a commendable virtue: Salomon the wisest of men, taught this lesson to men in thes words. *Tempus est tacendi*, and *tempus loquendi* he began with *tempus tacendi*, and his reason was, *quia veritas (inquit legis lator) primo tacendo discitur, postea docendo prædicatur*, truth is first learned by silence, next published by teaching. Socrates that famous Grecian, *sapientissimus hominum* pronounced by the Oracle, did much commend Silence vnto his disciples, and with great reason, in as much as there is greater wisdom, and lesse danger in being silent, then in speaking; wherefore Symonides one of the wisest men of his owne time, was often

heard to say, *loqutum me esse dolui sæpè, tacuisse nunquam*, "often have I repented to have spoaken, never for having held my peace;" notwithstanding all thes great encomis of Silence, celebrated by soe many wise Sages in all tymes, neverthelesse a long and vnseasonable Silence, is, and may be as blameable, as the other is recommendable.

To be Silent and hould my peace when an open injurie is don to my Religion, countrie and Parents, is neither wisdom pietie, nor vertue to be commended; this is, and hath been (as I perceave) the long Silence the Catholicks of Irland, had with the Lord Duke of Ormond giving him both time and leasure, to worke theyr ruine and downfall, without preventing the same (in a just forme and seasonable time) by theyr instant adresses, to the king, councel, or any else.

We have kept a longer Silence (to our great detriment) then Pythagoras his schollars have don, theyr Silence was limited to five yeares only, before theyr publick Tentamens in schoole, for the performance of which *Magister dixit*, was sufficient to them; but we, poore soules! have been silent neer now vpon thirteen yeares, suffering with all patience the open wrongs, and manifest Detriments this Noble-man have don vs, soe that vnder the notion of a friend, we discovered him at long-running to be our open enemie.

The same Ormond's speech (soone after the kings happie restauration) to Orrery, Monthrath, Clothworthy, Mervin, and such others of that fortunat tribe, have been in this nature, *Omnes bestia agri venite ad devorandum (nempe Iberniam) Vniversæ bestiæ saltus.* "All yee beasts of the field come to devoure (he means Irland) All yee beasts of the forrest." What were we doing? Where have we been? Or what became of our senses at that time when Ormond convoked thos men to devoure vs? We were all of vs in a deepe Silence, much like men in a fatal lethargie, soe as the words of the same prophet may be properly said of us *Speculatores ejus (id est Iberniæ) cæci omnes, nescierunt Vniversi, canes muti non valentes latrare, videntes vana, dormientes, & amantes somnia,* "her watch-men all blind haue been ignorant; dumb doggs not able to bark seeynge vain things, sleeping and loving dreams:" truly wee were all much like bewitched people, dotinge upon a man, that loued us not, and like men dreaming vain dreams; our Bishops, and churchmen (lett these venerable persons giue me leave to speake my sentiment) our Bishops I say, and Cleargymen, were but *canes muti non valentes latrare.* I did not see, nor heare of any in that numerous congregation (amonghst whom there haue been several learned and wise men) that haue written any thinge to this purpose, in characterizing (as they should haue don) this great man, and his craftie

designes to the publick ruine, exceptinge one of the divines (that then attended upon the Ecclesiastical congregation of whom mention was made in our preface) who composed a substantial, and solid peece replenished with uncontroulable reasons, justifijng, the just rejection of that peace, made and agreed, in the kingdom's behalfe (by certain Commissioners) with Ormond in the yeare 1646. this rejection of that peace Ormond takes for *petra scandali*, and as a dishonour (forsooth) to his person, soe that, from that day to this houre he hath been, and is still an open enemie to the Bishops of Irland and Cleargy; this divine that I speak off, did in a sober and modest stile plainly set foorth what Ormond did intend, and said nothinge in all that peece but what was just and reasonable as now more clearly we see; this worke came to my hands, and haue perused it with much attention, out of wch I haue collected partly some light for my furtherance in this present tractat, and now behould the Bishops (at that time exiled in this Kingdom, to whose Iudgment he submitted that worke) would not haue this wel studied peece to to see either presse, or light, in soe much, that those elucubrations, and labours were set a side and rendered uselesse and fruitlesse to the Nation.

I doubt not but the prelats intended wel, though otherwise fell out, for they were still in a charitable hope and expectation that Ormond

in time would Relent, and doe the nation good, but they, and millions besides theyr Lordships, haue been mistaken in Ormond, whose indignation more and more daylie increasing (not satisfied in the extremities of our woes and calamities) seems rather to rejoyce in the continuation of our afflictions, and annihilation of our persons, then to giue any signe of relentment or hopes of any good; a glorie without honnour.

Never did any Magician charme with spels, or philters any sort of men, more then this Ormond did that harmelesse people, by what art, or fascination is to me unknowne.

In London soe wounderfull was the veneration my Countre-men had to this great man's person, and soe great was theyr zeale to please, and loath in the least to displease him, as even when some begun to apprehend feares and jelousies of sinistrous proceedings, perceaving things not to goe as they expected, yet not with standing they scarce durst mutter theyr to well grounded feares and suspitions each unto an other, and this continued for a long time, every man was, *sicut mutus non aperiens os suum* in the cause of Religion and countrie, though they haue seen evidently his daylie heapinge of injuries upon the nation: nay some were soe starck blind, and slumbred upon this fatal Duke, as even after he possessed wroungfully theyr estates and fortunes, they were construing all to the best, and supposing some deep misterie of pietie in the man,

and yet could giue noe reason for such theyr vain conjectures and hopes; some in theyr priuat discourses (as if they were deluded by fiends and specters) wid imagin some future good Ormond would doe the nation, this epidemical dimnis and stupiditie attached the judgment and braines soe firmly of many, that several of them could not be persuaded but Ormond would as yet giue them a day of rejoycement and happiness; I haue been much amazed, and noe lesse perplexst, after seeyng and hearing some of theyr silly and simple expressions, pronunced in theyr privat confabulations in London, and letters from that cittie to thes parts much to this effect, "Ormond" (said one) "will never betray us, he'il never shrinke from us, he is our owne, his intentions are good;" an other said: "Ormond is to Noble to doe soe base an Act, it is not his Kinde to doe unworthie things, "his father and Mother," (quoth the third man) "were constant true Catholicks," (that is indeed true) "was not I beseech you, his grand-father" (said the fourth man) "Walter earle of Ormond, for his devotion stiled Walter of the beads and rosarie? will the child of soe good, soe godly, and vertuous progenitours, deceave the confidence, wee his countremen doe place in him? noe, it cannot be; happie are we that he is soe great with his Majestie, for though he seems at present some what could towards us, and to shake hands with Orrery and the rest of the Cromwelian faction, yet his

hart howeuer is with us, and for us, he may for a time favour theyr wayes, but to stick for good and all to such men, rebellious enimies to the King, and to him selfe, is a thing I can not beleeue, for you must know that Ormond is a wise man, a great politician, you shall see in time how handsomly he will wind himselfe out of theyr clawes."

These and such like idle Sermocinations was theyr discourse, but alack! thes wise men did but flatter them selves and the time with such frivolous thoughts and conjectures, grounding the fundation of theyr future prosperitie in Ormond's affection to the nation, and his special care of theyr preservation, which was in good earnest but to raise theyr building upon a fundation of sands, or as I may say to build castels in the ayre; but *sero sapiunt Phryges*, the web is dispelled that couered ouer our eyes, we can, *tandem*, see something, and much like thos that rested long under the Iuniper tree (whose shadow is both noxious and grivous to nature) when they a wake, feele a violent head-ach; soe we, hauing slept and slumbred long (without due care to our owne preservation) under the noxious shadow of Ormond's apparent affections, at last experected, hauing opned our eyes, we find our head, heart, and whole body in a far worse distemper then they that laid under the Iuniper tree; our feauer is mounted to a hectical height, partly by our owne carelessness, and cheefly by the improper administration of our physitian

Ormond, who instead of salutiferous potions, deluded us with poyson; This Noble man haue poysoned (as I may say) the heart of us all (I mean of his Majestie) with toxical councels, and fallacious informations against us, soe as this poyson possessing the vitals, we are faintinge and must of need perish, if the antidot cordials of his Majestie's goodness, in whom, next to God as the fontaine of mercy and justice, we place all trust and hope, will not affoord us life and comfort, which antidot cordials haue been hitherto (as is evidently Knowne) unjustly detained from us, by the suggestions of Ormond and Clarindon.

CHAPTER II.

A diligent Search off the motifs and reasons, induced Ormond to forsake (since the kings restauration) the Catholicks of Irland, and to stick to the Cromwelians.

We are now to search out the motifs induced Ormond abandon the Catholicks, and cause moved him to this suddain separation; whether by ill chance, the Catholicks plotted against his life, person, libertie, or fortunes? or whether they with-drew first from him, or haue given any occasion or offence sufficient to compel him to

such a repentinous mutation ? or whether it was the king's interest (for the better settlement of that kingdom under the crowne) made him fasten hands with them new men, and forsake the old stead-fast friends ?

There is noe man will beleeue that soe noble a person, soe compleat a states-man, soe much esteemed in court and cittie for gallantrie, and honour, a man soe much cried up for his integritie, and good nature, to be the paramount of thousand, as all his frinds (in the beginning of his power) gaue out of him, then when he begun to haue dealing with the confederate Catholicks; there is not a man, I say would beleeue that a person of such unparalelled parts, would deflect soe nastilie in that nature from them without some efficatious ground, and reason.

This unexpected catastrophe, as it suggested matter of admiration to all sort of people, soe it hath struken even dumb his neerest relations, and thes his friends, that most dearely respected him, in soe much as they durst not speake one woord in deffence of this his instabilitie; I am confident his grace wanted not such persons, his close sticklers, men skil'd both in the english and lattin letters (which formerly with heat and zeale were in a readiness to maintaine, by hooke, or crooke, with apparent and seeming ratiocinations his sinistrous doeyings, faults, and faylings) now in this matter they dare not appeare to justifie his running away from the camp of Israel, to

the Phylistin's field, from the association and amitie of honourable and honestly true men (the kings good subjects, and his owne steadfast frinds) to a Cromwelian faction, that heald out soe long in bloudy rebellion against the crowne and royal family; even Father Waylsh himselfe (who beyound all mortals Sacrifices himselfe to Ormond, and who have written soe much of that Noble mans constancie, vertues, and supereminent talents) sits now mute, and silent, he sayes nothing, gives not a word in vindication of his great patron's defection from his friends, alliances, and countriemen; I perceave the fathers mind and the cause of his silence in this matter, he knowes it is hard for him, *invita Minerva, & pessima existente causa* to lay hand to his pen.

His Grace, the duke himselfe is sensible, there are several inducing and obliginge reasons, for continuing his affection (if he had been soe pleased) and association with the Catholicks of Irland; as may be, the antiquitie, greatness, and Catholick pietie of his familie, and renowned Ancestours for soe many hundred yeares in that Kingdom of Irland, his vast patrimonie, the Noble houses of two Viscounts, three Barrons, and great number of rich, and worthie families of Knights, and Esquires descended lineally from his pedigree, that his Noble brother Mr. Richard Buttler, his vertuous sisters, gallant Ladies, were borne in that land, and have theyr estates and beeing therin, add to this the alliance of

several other peers of the land to his familie; all which are undeniable and strong inducements, powerfull to move, and bind such a person, or any other to love the Catholicks of Irland and closely fasten unto them, in all theyr just concernments, and undertakings.

In this place I would faine Know, what had Orrery, Monthrath, and the rest of that crue to doe with the house of Ormond? did there by good lucke intervene at any time tuixt theyr families and his, any concatenation of marriages? any relation of consanguinitie? any firme connection of unstained friendship? not that euer or I could heare off; but all to the contrarie, well Knowne they were his deadly enemies, and stared with an envious eye vpon his Lustre and Splendour, who like unto a procerous Cedar they perceaved did overtopp them selves.

His Grace (I suppose) will not say he deserted the Catholicks (whose loyaltie to the crowne of England have been sufficiently Knowne, even to the very rebells themselves) to joyne in friendship, with these freash men (but stale rebells) for better advancing and securing his Majesties interest? certainly a man of my lord's Iudgement (as I am confident) wid blush to pretend any such excuse, or to say soe: my lord of right should a gon with more moderation in soe waightie a matter, and nicely ponder (before pacting friendship with them) whether or noe (they that

have been for soe many yeares, fyrie and sworne enemies to the King and crowne) would at long triall prove worthie of his amitie, or of any other man's else, that had been still faithfull and loyall to the King and crowne; this my lord neglected to have don, but rather, by his repentinous conjunction of friendship with those well approved and trustie ministers of Cromwel, gave occasion to several wise men to suspect, and thinke that Ormond did not much in heart averse Cromwel, nor dislike of his proceedings, and that which we doe wonder at, is, that all this while we could not see, nor heare by mouth or pen any apologie from this good duke, that may give the world satisfaction for his soe doeing.

In my opinion his Grace had good reason to be silent in this matter, and to conceale from the eyes, and eares of men, the cunning motifs, slights, and arcana's that pusshed him on: for to manifest his reasons, were *manifestare errores inexcusabiles suos.* Seeing then that heerin my lord duke is pleased to be silent; I hope his Grace will give the looser leave to speake, and discover to the world the reasons deduced his Grace from the right roade of vertue, justice, pietie, and honnour, (deserting his trustie old friends) to kint vnexpected new sudden friendship, with his old enemies; it is to well Knowne to our woe-full experience, he made the worst use a christian noble man could have don, of the power he had from his majestie, in order to the

Catholick interest of Irland striving; constantly and musing how to subvert, and suppress equitie and justice to our destruction, which have been the cheefest ground induced him to this association, with the Cromwelians, that at once, and along with them he may plunder our houses, fortunes, and estates; and soe really it fell out, for of all men he had the fattest, fayrest, and greatest share.

The greatness of his person cannot terrifie me from apearing for my countrie, and countriemen, nor from speaking clearly, freely, and plainly the truth, if in case I shall speake, or write any thinge ungroundedly I shall desire some of his learned sticklers take the paynes to answer for him, and confute me, if he can; (we know his lordship hath more Hierelings, parasits, and flaterers, then true friends, and I beleeve his Grace will find my saying to be true, affore he dyes; for it will be but the just judgment of God, that he, who deserted his honest and true friends, should be deserted by all; I could hartily wish in the meane time he had in him these true vertues, that would both merit, and deserve true friends.

For compassing what I haue taken in hand, the right doore and ingresse to my discourse, must be a true and naked relation of Ormonds dealings and transactions, with the Catholicks of Irland since the first vnfortunat day they Knew him; this will make the reader Know what

manner of man he was, and is, whether of vertue, or vice, love or hatred to the Catholicks of Irland; all wch I wil endevour Succintly, with candid veritie (soe save me God) to performe, crauing from my benevolous reader the patience off perusing all with attention, and to Suspend his Iudgment till Fully instructed of all that past.

It is not my present intent to stand vpon iustifying the reuolution and warr of that Kingdom, begun the yeare 1641. to which they were forcibly compelled; I haue understood that matter is performed alaredy and soundlie to the purpose, by a skilfuller quil then myne: my present scope is, and will be, to have the reader Know what Ormond did in that warr, and afther the warr, and soe I dout not but the reader will be able to passe a free and impartiall Iudgment vpon his Grace, and me; and next whether his desertinge of the Catholicks, and combining with the new men, is or can be Iustifiable and excusable:

To this therefore effect, the reader may understand, that the now duke, (then Earle) of Ormond, at the beginning of this warr, was leutenant General of the Kings forces under the lords justices, Sr. William Parsons and Sr. Iohn Burlace; I passe by how he demeaned him selfe in that high post, either shewing enimitie to the Catholicks, or desiring the revolution should be suppressed: (some say he was for the suppress-

ing off it) let us suppose he did what became a man placed in that office he had, and leave that soe.

CHAPTER III.

Heere is shewen how Ormond *was chosen lord lieutenant, and his several cessations made with the confederate Catholics, and vast summes of monys receaved to transport over souldiers for his majesties; service.*

This Sr. William Parsons a could, rigid, and wise-man, but an inveterat enemie to the Catholicke religion and Catholicks, at once with Sr. Adam Loftus, Sr. Robert Merideth, Sr. Iohn Temple, and others of the councel became much addicted to the House of commons in England (which house began at that time to contest and be at variance with the King) and in good faith made noe other use of his Majesties power and Sword of Iustice in that Kingdom, then to increase and kendle (rather than quench) the flame of that revolution, which they caled a rebellion: heere you are to observe, that the said lords Iustices and aboue specified councellours, though they were disloyal and perfidious to the King, yet the false and pernicious relations thes knaves

gave, and divulged by proclamations of the Irish, that the vniversalitie of the Catholicks of Irland got up into a new rebellion (whereas for one Catholick that was engaged in that revolution, there were thousands in the nation knew nothing off it, even the nobilitie, citties and gentrie of the nation were soe) they were easily beleeved in that theyr false and Malicious aspersion; soe that his Majestie did noe lesse call and esteeme us rebelles, then the House of commons in England did; these men's disaffection to the King, and theyr Treacherie, beyng at lenght discovered, his Majestie recalled theyr commissions, and appointed Ormond lord lieutenant of the Kingdom: after his Excellencie was invested with this new commission and power, the parlament of England more and more growing stroung in hostilitie against the King, and declaring open warr to his Majestie, (which was plain rebellion, not like the painted rebellion of Irland) his Excellency, who had at that time trustie friends in the Councel of the confederat Catholicks, treated with the assembly of said Catholicks, and in their absence, with the foresaid Councel for a Cessation of armes between his Partie and theirs; to which the Catholicks did Freely and willingly consent, and to that effect graunted and paied over to my lord Lieutenant thirty thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling for to transport over into England some of the Kings forces, to Suppresse the rebellion

in that Kingdom; this free speedy, and loyall contribution of soe vast a summe of monies, in soe seasonable a time, to furnish and pay the Kings souldiers against the rebells of England, was noe signe of rebellious hearts in the Catholicks. As for what these forces ferried over did there, whether they beat the rebells, or were beaten, is not my subject in hand; I come to my lord of Ormond, who for some yeares continued his capitulations, and treatings with the Catholicks of Irland, and did indeed wijre-draw them to theyr great losse, both to the dishartning of their souldiers, consumption of their treasures, and letting slip great advantages of service; great matters we expected from Ormond, and noe lesse did our Commissioners tell us; that he was ready condescend to our demaunds, and graunt us good things, but in the end litle or nothing was don; not withstanding all this, any thing that seemed to be with the Kings interest, or for the Kings service did much relish with the Catholicks, and soe desirous and forward we were to make peace with any party the King owned to be his owne, as we omitted to pursue vigorously a good warr, and at long running wee made noe good peace for libertie, Religion, Fortunes, or honour of the Nation.

CHAPTER IV.

Glanmorgans peace rendered voide by the Kings disavowing any authoritie given to that effect.

TWICE we concluded peace by our Commissioners, the one off which have been with the Earle of Glanmorgan, and the other with Ormond: and in fin wee had neither peace, nor the assurance of a peace; the said Earle of Glanmorgan, shewed us under the privat signet a faire and large commission he had from the King, authorizing him to conclude a peace with us, and to graunt us such favourable concessions for religion, as Ormond the Kings Lieutenant (who also had a commission under the great scale) could not Publickly graunt, or be seen in; this peace made with Glanmorgan became voyd and of noe force, the King disavowing any power given to that effect vnto Glanmorgan: you shall find the Kings disavowing of any such power in his booke, commonly caled, *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, pag: the 29: in a message given (as it is written) in our court at Oxford the 29 Ianu: 1645. to the speaker of the house of Peeres *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two houses of Parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the Parliament in Scotland.

His Majesties message of Ianuary 29, 1645, *about Irland, and his Majesties further Concessions, and desire of a personal treaty; Oxford.*

C. R.

"His Majestie having receaved information from the lord Leutenant and Councel in Irland, that the Earle of Glanmorgan hath, without his or their orders or priuitie, entered into a treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick partie there, and alsoe drawne vp and agreed vnto certain articles with the said Commissioners highly derogatory to his Majesties honour, and royal dignitie, and most prejudicial vnto the Protestant religion and church there in Irland: wherevpon the said Earle of Glanmorgan is arrested vpon suspition of high treason, and imprisoned by the said lord Leutenant and Councel, at the instance and by the impeachment of the lord Digby, who (by reason of his place and former employment in these affaires) doth best know how contrarie that proceeding of the said Earle hath been to his Majesties intentions and directions, what great prejudice it might bring to his affaires, if those proceedings of the Earle of Glanmorgan should be any way vnderstood to have been done by directions, liking or approbation of his Majestie having in his former messages for a personal treaty offered to give contentment to his two Houses in the business of Irland, hath now thought fitting, the better to

shew his clearer intentions, and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parlament, and the rest of his subjects in all his kingdoms, to send his declarations, to his said houses, containing the whole truth of the business which is.

"That the Earle of Glanmorgan having made offer vnto his Majestie to raise forces in the Kingdom of Irland, and to conduct them into England for his Majesties service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only.

"That he had noe commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privitie, and direction of the lord Leutenant, much lesse to Capitulat any thing concerning religion; or any propertie belonging either to Church or Laity.

"That it clearly appeares by the lord Leutenants procedings with the said Earle, that he had noe notice at all of what the said Earle had treated, and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, vntill by accident it came to his knowledge.

"And his Majestie doth protest, that vntill such time, as he had advertisment, that the person of the said Earle of Glanmorgan was arrested, and restrained (as is aboue said) he neuer heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said Earle had entred into any kind of treaty or capitulation with the Irish commissioners: much lesse that he had concluded or signed these articles soe destructiue both to Church and State,

and soe repugnant to his Majesties publick professions, and knowne resolution.

"And for the further vindication of his Majesties honour and integritie heerin, he doth declare, that he is soe far from considering any thing contained in those papers, or writings framed by the said Earle, and those commissioners with whom he treated, as he doth absolutely disavow him therein, and both giuen commandements to the lord Leutenant and the Councel there, to proceed against the said Earle, as one, who either out of falseness, presumption, or folly, had soe hazarded the blemishing of his Majesties reputation, with his good subjects, and soe impertinently framed those articles of his owne head, without the consent, privitie or directions of his Majestie, or the lord Leutenant, or any of his Majesties Councel there; but true it is, that for the necessarie preservation of his Majesties protestant subjects in Irland, whose case was dayly represented vnto him to be soe desperat, his Majestie have given commission to the lord Leutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there, as might be for safty of that Crowne, the preservation of the protestant religion, and noe way derogatory to his owne honour and publick professions."

You see plainly by this his Majesties disavowing letter of any power given to Glanmorgan, as to the effect of peace to be concluded with the confederat Catholicks, how Glanmorgans peace

came to nothing, and of noe validitie, though much labour, paines and monnies it cost to the confederat Catholicks; and not without great discredit to the said Earle. As for the peace made with Ormond yeare 1646. (who had the Kings commission vnder the great seale) it had noe better issue then the former, as shal be made cleare out of the aboue specified divine his writings, reasons, arguments, and woords as they are put downe.

And in as much as the Bishops and Cleargy their opposition to that peace, hath drawne vpon them the implacable anger of Ormond; pervsing what I shall write, you shal be able to iudge the reasons given by the Prelats were valid, and themselves honest in their intentions, and vpright in their proceedings, and that they haue done nothing but what pietie, and the obligation of their pastoral care did require; consequently you will graunt that the dukes anger, and rancour came by noe offence given by the Bishops, but through his owne heightie mind, which in all matters, and in all occasions must rule and domineere, or will have peace, nor quietness with any man; this matter comprehending many parts, arguments, and circumstances, I shal be forced to bestow more time about it.

It fell out soe, that the confederat Catholicks appointed certain persons of qualitie as Commissoners of treaty (they appointed others for preparing instructions for those that were to treat,

whom they named commissioners of instructions) to treat and conclude a peace with Ormond then lord Leutenant; this done in the yeare 1644. the names of those appointed, were Richard lord viscount of Mongaret, Donogh lord viscount of Musgrie, Sr. Robert Talbot Barronet, Dermot ô Brien, Patrick Darcy, Geffery Browne, and Iohn Dillon Esquires. After a long debate vpon neare two yeares, a peace was at length concluded between them and his Excellency the lord Leutenant, consisting of thirty articles, which articles (after being perfected, duely and maturely examined by vnderstanding and learned men) were suspected vnsafe for the Chatholicks; this is the subject the mentioned divine handled and soundly Proved, and vpon the same occasion learnedly justified the rejection of that peace out of the arguments, and decrees of the Ecclesiastical congregation.

CHAPTER V.

The rejection of the peace of 1646, *made by the Bishops and Cleargy at Waterford maintained and justified; which peace was alsoe voyd for being perfected without authoritie of Ormond's part.*

This author sayes, the Bishops and Cleargy allarmed at the publication of the said peace in Dublin, and Kilkennie, and obedience the Citizens and other natives gave therunto, (they saw the Gouvernment was devolved, the supreme Councell of the Nation dissolved, and the forces and armies, and all to be put into the hands of said Ormond lord Lieutenant; the peace (as above was said) being not secure for the cheefest concernments of the Catholicks) convened and came togither at Waterford (a noble and Catholick Cittie) the sixt of August 1646. the zeale of Gods house, and of theyr flocks soe requiring, to consider seriously the contents of the Articles of said peace, and ackordingly to determine, as pietie and the saftye of Religion, and thir flocks would require at their hands.

"The method (said the Author) the Bishops and Cleargy observed in rejecting said Peace,

and the order of their consultations, was grave, and yet free, giving every divine licence to argue, discourse, and deliver his opinion as to the question proposed; the Chancelour of the congregation taking in the meane time his notes in writing of every mans sense and sentence of the question ventilated, and after a full debate, repeating *viva voce*, the substance of the arguments; they voted with much tranquilitie a result or conclusion, and indeed soe much was said to every of these articles that came vnder debate as nothing was left vnsaid, that could be pertinent."

A love *Principium* was the begining of this Congregation, they publickly sacrificed and prayed with flamming Charitie, and profound humiiltie, demanding from God light and wisedom in this most important affaire that soe touched holy Religion and his divine worship; that he would be pleased to give a blessing to their worke there: and for the better guiding their Consciences, they seriously perused.

First the oath of association (the rule of warr and peace with the confederat Catholicks,) which could not be contravened by any without perfidiousness, and impietie.

2. The model of Gouvernment.

3. Several remonstrances printed in France, the yeare 1642. Fourthly, our grevances presented at Tryme, March, the 17. 1642. Fifthly, the several acts and protestations made by the Kingdom in open assembly at Kilkennie in the

months of July and August 1645. for the liberties and splendour of Religion, and for the Churches. Sixtly, the 17. propositions exhibited to his Majes tie, yeare 1644. Seaventhly, the further addition and propositions after propounded to the lord Marques of Ormond.

All these things they examened with great deliberation, and attention, being the rules laid downe by the whole Kingdom for regulating the committie of treaty, as alsoe the committie of instructions for the said treaty, and all others to whom any charge was intrusted.

They began with the important propositions the committie of treaty for the peace, were to present vnto the Lord Marquez of Ormond Leutenant Generael of Irland, for and in behalfe of the confederat Catholicks of Irland, for coucluding a peace: those propositions were the cheefe rules they were bound to observe in that treaty.

1. One proposition was, that the Roman Catholick both Cleargy and Laity haue and enjoy the free and publick exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion throughout that Kingdom, as it was in the raigne of Henry the 7. or any other Catholick King his predecessours Kings of England, and Lords of Irland, had either in England or Irland.

2. That the secular Roman Cleargy of Irland, viz: Primats, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Ordinaries, Deans, and Chapters, Archideakens, and other dignitaries, Persons, Vicars, and all other

Pastors of the secular Cleargy, and their respective successours, shall have and enjoy all and every of them all manner of jurisdictions, priviledges, and immunities in as full and ample manner as the Roman Catholick Cleargy had or enjoyed within this Realme at any time during the raigne of the late King Henry the 7. of England and Lord of Irland, any declaration of law, laws, statute, power or any authoritie to the contrarie not with standing.

3. That all laws and statutes made since the time of King Henry the 8. whereby any restreinght, penaltie, mulct, or incapacitie, or other restriction what-soever is or may be laid vpon any of the Roman Catholicks, either of the Cleargy, or laity, for such the said exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion within this Kingdom, and of their several functions, jurisdictions, and Priviledges, may be repealed, revoked, and declared voyd in the next Parlament by one or more acts of Parlament to be passed therin.

4. That the Primats, Bishops, Archbishops, Ordinaries, Deans, and Chapters, Archdeakens, Chancelours, Treasurers, Chanters, prevosts, Guardians of Collegial Churches, Prebendaries, and other dignitaries Persons, Vicars, and other Pastors of the Roman Catholick Cleargy and their respective successours shall have, hould, and enjoy all the Churches and church liuings in as large and ample manner as the late Protestant Cleargy respectively enjoyed the same in

the first day of Septem. 1641, togither with all their rights, profits, emoluments, perquisits, liberties to their respective Seas, and Churches belonging as well in all places now in the possession of the confederat Catholicks, as alsoe all other places that shall be recovered by the confederat Catholicks, from the adverse partie within this Kingdom saving to the Roman Catholick Laity, and their respective rights ackording to the lawes of the land.

The Roman Catholick Regular Cleargy of the Kingdom were to have and hould the Bodyes, sites, and precincts of their Abbeys, Monasteries, and churches &c.

These foure propositions were sworne by the Confederat Catholicks in a general Assembly to be insisted vpon, and obtained vpon any treaty of peace, otherwise that they would not lay downe their armes while they had power and abilitie to maintaine the warr. Now said foure Propositions or matters (soe sworne to be insisted vpon) were not granted in the 30 Articles of 1646 (as above is cleare and manifest) nor as much as presented or vrged, as the Commissioners themselves did confess, which seems a breach of trust in those of the Commitie of Treaty, who were obliged to present and vrge said propositions; certaine I am that one of the most vnderstanding of that Committie tould me, it was but meere folly to present and offer them, for that Ormond was noe way content to consent,

or give way to them, nor even to Glanmorgan's concessions it selfe, which were of far lesser importance for Religion and Nation, then the above four propositions; and that for this reason they said nothing of foresaid propositions; nor of Glanmorgan's concessions vntil after signature of the 30 Articles; they then desired Glanmorgan's concessions should be at once printed and published with the 30. Articles as contained and comprised in one of them, to witt, the Article "of his Majesties gratious favour and further concessions," (which is as I remember the first Article of all) but my lord of Ormond absolutly denied said concessions of Glanmorgan should be published at once with the 30 Articles, and that he had nothing to doe with Glanmorgan's treaty or concessions. Of the above foure propositions the cheefest things to be vrged and insisted vpon, ackording the instructions they had, they sayd nothing to Ormond. After this followeth a title *in hæc verba.*

How the commitie of treaty demeaned themselves in concluding the peace of 1646 *with Ormond.*

THE Commitie (saith this Divin) confessed, they vpon concluding the peace of thirty Articles releied principally vpon Glanmorgan's concessions, as to the libertie and exercise of Religion, and as to the establishement and securitie therof,

and they conceaved the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions were included in these articles of 1646, and made of equal force with them; wheras the benefit of said Glanmorgan's concessions is rather waved and renonced in said Articles of 1646: those Commissioners of Treaty sayes Glanmorgan's concessions are included vnder these words of the first of the 30 Articles, "further concessions granted, or to be granted by his Majestie." But you are to observe that all a long vpon the debate of the peace of 46. they never made (as above said) as much as mention to my lord of Ormond of Glanmorgan's concessions to be included and to be of equal force with the 30. Articles; it is true after signature of said 30. Articles they moved his Excellency of Glanmorgan's concessions, but he tould them plainly he never meant by the Article of further concessions, that the Catholicks thereby should have the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions.

Behould how the greatest matter, that could concerne the Catholicks, (the matter of Religion) was handled by the Commitie of Treaty, to wit, the foure propositions above mentioned, and Glanmorgan's concessions, (the basis vpon which the Catholicks relied for Religion, and splendor thereof, immunities, liberties, Churches, and church-livings) committed to them to be insisted vpon; now in all the time of said treaty, and debate with his Excellency about the 30. Articles, not one word was spoken of said propositions and

concessions nor at the very time of signature and perfection of the 30. Articles: as if they had been of soe litle worth as they merited not to be moved once, being notwithstanding the principal part of their trust. Did they think by silencing them in time of Treaty to steale them vpon my lord of Ormond, he was to wise to be soe gulled, or did they meane by not moving them, to leave them for a seede of a new warr when the King in Parlament should denie us the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions, and of those other propositions and things, as in my opinion he could rationally doe, they being not articled and agreed vpon in the 30. Articles perfected by Ormond, by vertue of his commission vnder the great seale, and consequently not obliging the King as a matter contained included, and perfected in the said 30. Articles? what answer then can the commitie make for themselves as to the foure propositions and Glanmorgan's concessions not spoken of in the time of treaty? how could the benefit of them be obtained in Parlament, when the peace of 46. should be ratifyed and made good to the Nation? Ormond would denie in open Parlament any consent given by him to such concessions or propositions, or that they had been as much as moved to him or proposed upon time of treaty, or perfecting the 30. Articles; now it is cleare that in contracts nothing can be claimed, but what is don by the consent of the parties contracting.

Heere our Commitie of treaty is in a labirinth

for obtaining the four propositions and Glanmorgan's concessions in Parlament, what they affirme, Ormond stifly denies, (and groundedly) for who will say he consented to concessions or propositions never mentioned or vrged during the treaty, nor at the time of perfecting the 30. Articles? what shall the King determine in this dispute and difference: what other but denie the benefit of said propositions and Glanmorgan's concessions for not being consented vnto by his commissioner Ormond? what then will the Catholicks of Irland doe? either they must content themselves with Ormond's peace of 30. Articles, and goe without the benefit of both the propositions and said concessions (the best and principal ground and securitie for Religion) or else they must make warr with the king for obtaining them, wheras vntill then they have never warred against his Majestie.

Heere have I given you nakedly the deportment of the commitie of Treaty, with the nature, substance, and qualitie of that peace of 46. altogither vnsecure and unsafe for Catholick religion, and all the interrest of the Nation.

Now if in case that said Commitie of treaty for concluding of peace swarued from any of the rules and instructions given them (as indeed they have don) what they acted can noe way oblige either the Cleargy or the people to their owne overthrow and destruction; it were a hard case for a common wealth, if persons by her im-

powered, with trust, and not performing the same trust, could bind the common-wealth to Acts prejudicial and destructive both to their preservation, interrest and libertie, as many of those 30. Articles were to doe.

CHAPTER VI.

The opinion of two famous lawyers vpon the peace of Glanmorgan, and that of Ormond, with the final result and iudgement of the Prelats after examening the said peace of 30 *Articles.*

WEE are in this place to see what the Congregation did, with their divins. After making a sound ponderation vpon the above foure Propositions, and other Acts and Ordinances of the several assemblys of that Kingdom, they came to a mature examination of the 30. Articles, above mentioned, and for their surer and better vnderstanding of all, made vse of the advise and counsell of the two eminentest, and famous lawyers of the land, who made certaine sound observations vpon that peace and concessions of

Glanmorgan, the substance of those observations is digested into four Articles.

1. That the Committie of treaty waved the benefit of Glanmorgan's concessions, by not onely not insisting vpon them, but not soe much as proposing them, during the treaty with my lord Leutenant, which was contrarie to the trust and charge laid vpon them by the Kingdom.

2. A publick faith given by the Kingdom to the lord Nuntio and Cleargy to make Glanmorgan's concessions, and all conditions for Churches and Religion, as publick, as valid, and of as much force as that of the temporal, was not performed.

3. That the king did disavow Glanmorgan's concessions, soe as they became vtterly therby void, for which reasons the Cleargy were to provide for themselves by other wayes.

4. Vpon the perclosing of those observations, the said lawyers hath this ensueing language. If the case of reference to further concessions, granted in the agreement of said 30. Articles can not extend to what the lord Leutenant publickly disauoued, and as wee vnderstand (on the very perfection of said 30. Articles) he before witnesses, expressed, to witt that the said clause of further concessions in his peace was not meant by him to extend to Glanmorgan's concessions, shall then the securitie of Religion and Churches in all the Kingdom depend on a matter that hath soe many doubts in it?

Besides if those 30. Articles concluded with Ormond had any matter of moment in them for Religion, before perfection of them, the King reuoked the lord Leutenant's commission, and by this all goes to ground, for without authoritie he could not perfect articles. This revocation is in print and expresssed in a letter from his Majestie to the Marquez of Ormond Iune the 11. 1646, as followeth:

"C. R.

"Right trusty &c. having long with much grief looked vpon the sad condition our Kingdom of Irland hath been in these divers yeares, through the wicked and desperat rebellion there, and the bloudy effects have insued there vpon. For the setling where-of wee would have wholy applyed our selves, if the difference betwixt vs and our subjects heere, had not diverted, and withdrawen us, and not having beene able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, wee were necessitated for the present safty of our Protestant subjects there, to give you power and authoritie to treat with them, vpon such pious, honorable, and safe grounds as that our kingdom did then require; but for many reasons to long for a letter wee thinke fit to require you to proceed noe further in treaty with the rebells, nor to ingage vs upon any condition with them after sight hereof. And having formerly found such reall proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, wee

doubt not of your care in this wherein our service and the good of our Protestant subjects in Irland is soe much concerned. from Newcastle Iune the 11. 1646."

This letter was receaved by Ormond before perfecting of the 30. Articles, where fore said articles can be of noe force. what remedy then can be had? what healp to make the 30. Articles valid? they said Digby brought some thing in Cypher to incourrage the Lord Leutenant, and what then? shall wee rely upon a cypher, and gett noe better securitie for our Religion, and Churches, for our liues, fortunes and estates, then the relying upon a cypher? this were in good earnest to make a peace in Cypher.

Heere I haue given you the sence of the two famous lawyers upon the 30. Articles; one of those for his abilities was well known to the learnedest juges of England and Irland, was a Counsellor to Ormonds familie, and one that knew as much of the ground and cause of our quarrel and of all that passed in the Assembly, Councel and several commities as any who somever in the Kingdom.

By what is said you see Ormonds commsssion was reuoked before perfecting the said peace of 30. Articles (which shall be more expressly made cleare hereafter) and did not Excellencie knowing this, play fooly with the confederat Catholicks? what then did he intend by intruding

this peace vpon us? what other but to cheat and deceave us by getting from us vpon consideration of such a peace (as in effect he did) all our forts, citties, townes, armes, armies, and nauvy vnder his owne command, and by dissoluing our association and gouvernement; was not this a handsom tricke and plott for vndoeing us taking away all our defense for noe other consideration then that of those plaistred articles perfected without any commission, that could and lightly would be disavoued in Parlament by his Majestie, as concluded without his authoritie, and consequently wee should gaine noe grace nor pardon by them.

After the Bishops and other ordinaries, and diuins, had well considered these things, and more particularly the result of the two renowned lawyers, who were especial leading-men in the common-wealth; after long debate, and learned arguments, great diligence, search and paines, they found it evident, that Religion, estates, lives, liberties, and saftie of the Catholicks, lay open to danger, notwithstanding the 30. articles agreed upon with Ormond by the commitie of treaty (who discharging not the trust laid vpon them by failing to pursue the instructions giuen them, as aboue was said) and finding all the citties, townes, forts Garrisons, armie, ships, magazins, and the strenght of the Catholicks to be rendered vp to the lord Leutenant (as some of them already was) and the supreame Councel had by that time ceded theire authoritie, and

submitted to the said peace, which had been (as was said) proclaimed and published solemnly by the Kings-at-armes in Dublin and Kilkennie, and that the lord Leutenant come from Dublin gallantly attended by many hundreds of prime Gentlemen, was then at Kilkenny and began to gouverne according the articles of the peace; the Bishops (I say) and Cleargy naked and without any garde other then the protection of God, and affection of good Catholicks, after invoking the name of the most high, came to a final result, which was the insueing decree, which they put foorth, and caused to be published to the Catholicks over the Kingdom.

Per congregationem Ecclesiasticam vtriusque cleri hibernici, in Spiritu Sancto congregatam Waterfordiæ coram Illustrissimo D: Archiespiscopo, FIRMANO Nuntio Apostolico extraordinario in Iberniam.

" Super quæstione inter nos orta, & per multos dies exagitata, an perjuri declarandi essent, qui pacem contentam triginta articulis ad nos a supremo Concilio transmissis, acceptarent, & successiué, an tanquam perjuri forent excommunicandi? auditis prius singulorum sententiis, & rationibius, lectisque aliquorum sacræ theologiæ doctorum scriptis, decretum est vnanimi

consensu, & singulorum votis nemine contradicente, quod omnes & singuli confæderati Catholici, qui simili paci adhærebunt, vel ejus fautoribus consentient, aut alio modo illam amplectentur, perjuri absolutè habendi sint, ea præcipuè de causa, quod in iis articulis nulla facta est mentio Catholicæ Religionis, ejusque securitatis, nec vlla habita ratio conseruationis priuilegiorum Patriæ, sicuti juramento legitur promissum, sed potius omnia referantur ad arbitrium Serenissimi Regis, a quo in presenti rerum statu nihil certi potest haberi, & interim subjuciantur exercitus, arma, & munimenta, ipsumque supremum Concilium confederatorum Catholicorum, authoritati & dominio Concilii status suæ Majestatis & officialium protestantium, a quibus, vt securi fieremus, juramentum illud suscepimus. Ex quibus & ex pluribus aliis causis sola nostra conscientia mori, solumque Deum præ oculis habentes, vt notum sit vniversis & singulis tum Ibernis, tum exteris, tali pace nos non dedisse, nec daturos consensum, nisi pro Religione, Rege & patria juxta nostrum juramentum securæ conditiones apponantur; & vt Greges nostri confæderatique omnes Catholici, qui in generalibus comitiis aliquando in hoc Spirituali negotio, velut ad Ecclesiasticum judicem vnice spectante, sententiam nostram rogauerunt, certo sciant quod a nobis determinatum fuerit, vt in eum sensum tanquam pii & fideles Catholici pastoribus suis obedientes concurrant.

Hoc decretum scribi, & vbique locorum anglicâ vel etiam Ibernicâ lingua publicari jussimus, & manibus ac sigillis nostris firmavimus. Alteram verò quæstionem de Excommunicatione ad proximas sessiones referuamus. Datum Waterfodiæ die 12, Aug: anno 1646."

"Ioannes Baptista Archiespiscopus FIRMANVS & Nuntius Apostolicus.
Fr. Thomas Archiepiscopus Dublin: Hiberniæ Primas.
Thomas Archiepiscopus Casseliensis
Fr. Boetius Episcopus Elphin:
Ioannes Episcopus Loanensis
Franciscus Episcopus Aladensis
Nicolaus Episcopus Fernensis
Fr. Patricius Episcop. Waterford: & Lismor:
Ioannes Clonfertensis Episcopus:
Fr. Edmundus Episcopus Lacklin:
Richardus Adfertensis & Accadem: Episcop:
Edmundus Episcop: Limericensis
Emerus Episcop: Clocheren:
Fr. Iacobus Abbas Benchorensis
Fr. Patricius Abbas B. M. Dublin
Fr. Laurentius Abbas de surio,
Fr. Iacobus Abbas de S. Cruce,
Fr. Iacobus Tobin Abbas de Kilcoole,
Robertus vicarius Apostol: Rossen:
Donaldus Vicarius Funiborensis
Fr. Gregor: Prior Prouinc: Ord: Prædicat:
Fr. Dionisius Prior Prouinc: Erim: S. Aug.

Edmundus ô Theige Procur: Illustriss: D. Armach:
Walterus Vicar: Apost: Tuamens:
Guilelmus Vicar: Apost: Imolacen:
Iacobus Vicar: Generael: Kildar:
Cornelius Vicar: General: Ardensis
Oliverius Vicar: General: Meden:
Dominicus Vicar: General: Corcagien:
Simon Vicar: General: Cluanensis
Edmundus Vicar: General: Clowensis
Cornelius Vicar: General: Cluan:
Robertus Superior Societ: Iesu
Fr. Antonius Procurator Provinc: FF: Minorum
Fr. Barnabas Commiss: Gener: Capuci:"

These are the names of such as sate in the Ecclesiastical congregation of both the Irish cleargy secular and regular in true spirit of the Holy Ghost conuened at Waterford before the most Illustrious and most Reuerend Archbishop Firmanus Nuntio Apostolical in Irland.

The decree is thus Englished:

"As to the question betwixt vs moued, and for many dayes discussed whether such as would accept of that peace contained in the 30. articles, remitted vnto vs from the supreme Councel, are to be declared perjurious, and consequeutly whether as perjurious they are to be excommu-

nicated: wee having first given care to each ones opinion and sentiment in this matter, as alsoe hauing read the writings of some doctors of Diuinitie, it is decreed, and by each ones vote in particular (none contradicting) that all and euery one of the confederat Catholicks, that will adhere to such a peace, or consent to the furtherers therof, or in any other manner or way will embrace the same, shall be absolutly as perjurious esteemed, cheefly in as much, as there is noe mention made in them 30 articles, nor prouision for the Catholick Religion, or safty therof, nor any respect had for the preservation of the Kingdom's priuileges, as were promised in the oath of association, but to the contrary all remitted and referred to the Kings will and pleasure, from whome (as the case stands at present with his Majestie) noe certainty of things can be had or expected, yet in the meane time all the armes, armies, fortifications, even the very supreme Councel of the confederat Catholicks are and is to be subiected to the authoritie and rule of his Majesties Councel of State, and protestant officers; from whom that wee may be safe and secure, wee have taken that oath.

"Out of which and several other reasons wee (moved therunto by our only conscience, having God before our eyes) would have it known to all, and to each person, and persons as well of the Irish natiues, as to forrain nations, that wee gave noe consent, nor will any to such a peace,

if they will not grant vs further, surer and safer conditions for our Religion, our King and Countrie according to our oath of association; and to the end our flocks (all the confederat Catholicks) who in their general assemblies required our sentence, in this spiritual matter appertaining to vs onely as Ecclesiastical Iudges, may know for certain what is by vs determined herein, and sa godly and faithfull Catholicks obeying their Pastors, may concurre with vs: wee have ordered this decree to be written and published each where both in the English and Irish toung. Given under our hands, and sealed with our proper seales. The other question of Excommunication wee reserve to next sessions. Given at Waterford the 21. of August 1646."

This Decree was the principal worke of the Congregation, after which they writ to the Citties and townes in the Catholick quarters, to the Generals of the Armies, and some other principal officers, and to seueral other noble men, warning them of the danger and insecuritie of said peace, adhorting all to concurre and joyne with them in rejecting the same peace, and at the same time they writ the ensueing letter to the lord president and members of the late supreme Councel residing at Kelkennie.

"Right honorable after a serious debate with Mr. Plunket and Mr. Darcy desiring and hoping for a good understanding between vs (whereby the vnion and true peace of the Kingdom may

be preserved) wee conceaued and drew up the inclosed declaration and propositions containing our true sense of the late peace, and our iust demands for a sufficient prouision, and securitie for the Catholick Religion, churches, liues, liberties and estates of the confederat Catholicks of this Kingdom, praying we may with all convenien speed receaue your answers (which if not timely returned, wee shall find our selues obliged in conscience to let our declaration and propositions be made publick) with our best wishes, wee rest your Honnours louing frinds. Waterford. 24. August 1646. by command of the lord Renuccini Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, Apostolical Nuncio, and of the Ecclesiastical Congregation of both the secular and Regular Clergy of Irland. *Nicolaus Episcopus Fernensis Cancellarius Congregationis.*"

The superscription was. "For the Right Honorable the lord Mongarret and the rest of the late supreme Councel."

The declaration mentioned in the aboue letter (which was printed) doth manifest what past vpon the examination of the peace of 30. Articles, and of the aboue mentioned matters, with our sense and judgment vpon all, our prayers and fatherly commands to our flocks ouer the kingdom, and to the Generals and other officers and soldiers to haue nothing to doe with that peace; the propositions mentioned in said letter were expedients offered by the Congregation for securing

the Catholick Religion, liues liberties and estates of the Catholicks.

One (and that a principal proposition) that Glanmorgans concessions vpon which the comitie of Treaty relyed as to Religion) should be made as valid publick as the 30. articles, and of the same force with them for the benefit and satisfaction of the Catholicks. Ormond, (who was then in Kelkennie when the mentioned letter was receaued by the supreme Councel) answered he had noe power to consent to such concessions, nor as much as to add any article to the 30. articles, his Commission (by vertue of which he had concluded said 30. articles with them) being expired, yet he promised all the frindly offices that lay in his power, and all mediation with the king for the satisfaction of the Catholicks, which was noe securitie nor satisfaction to the Catholick Prelats.

The supreme Councel, after receauing the mentioned declaration and propositions, employed Sr. Lucas Dillon knight and Gerrat Finnel Esquire (both of the Councel) with Thomas Tirel and Laurence Dudal esquires, adding to them Nicolas Plunket and Patrick Darcy esquires (who were in Waterford before) both members of the Councel, to offer certain proposals for satisfying the Bishops, and cleargy, to the end forsaid peace of 30. articles might be vnanimously by them and the rest accepted; these gentlemen were humanly receaued and

listened vnto by the lord Nuncio and Bishops of Clonferry and Fernes, (which two were chosen by the congregation to attend on the lord Nuncio in that affaire) after all was heard and considered of, and all they said represented to the Congregation, there was nothing of securitie found as to Religion and churches.

Heere it is to be particularly observed, that the Lord Leutenant Ormond vpon a sudden departed from Kelkennie to Dublin like a man possessed by some feare, when Sir Luke and the rest were vpon their way to Waterford, which departure of his prescinded all expectation of giving such securitie and satisfaction as the Bishops and Cleargy expected. Heer upon the Congregation tould Sir Lucas and the rest of the Gentlemen, there was noe other way remaining for satisfying all good men, then to summon of new a General Assembly of the confederat Catholicks, and there and then to have the 30. articles of 46. more nicely examened, and by them to be recepted, or rejected as pleased the prudency of the whole Catholick Assembly.

This is a candid and ample accoumpt I give you out of the mentioned divin of the propositions and procedings of the Bishops and Cleargy assembled in Waterford, to the end (that all their transactions there and then rightly pondered and vnderstood) they may appeare to the world (as really they are) innocent and blamelesse as acting nothing therin, but what the dictamen

of their concience led them vnto, touching the 30. articles.

It is by this manifestly known how Ormonds mercenarie pens, and others vpon their suggestions (without any search or examination) haue both bitterly spoken and written of these Bishops, and of all the cleargy for putting a side that peace; one of which (and that wrote bitterly) was F. Peeter Wailsh, who censured them grieuously for soe doeing, though at the same time, this Congregation sate, this friar was as much against the said 30. articles and Ormond, as another; how he came to Change his mind, and writ for Ormond against the Bishops and Cleargy, I know not, neither to this day hath he given any ground or reason, nor is able to doe, for that his instabilitie; and if in case he had apparently given, yet noe regard ought to be had by any good and Zealous Catholick, of what he sayes, in as much as he lyes vnder the curse of an excommunication major (as I haue said in the Preface) pronounced against him by a general Chapter of his owne order, against whom he most rebelliously stands out refusing submission to them.

I hope these things well considered the Bishops and Cleargy assembled in Waterford will loose noe esteeme in the sight of good impartial Christians, but rather be commended for their zeale and fortitude in Gods cause; wee are not to feare fire nor sword, nor the greatness of men, when

wee speake for God and his glorie. *Loquebar* (saith the divin psalmist) *de testimonijs tuis in conspectu regum & non confundebar.*

This diuin by me aboue cited protested before God and his Angels, that the Bishops and Cleargy had noe intention to offend Ormond in that proceeding, or to blemish his honnor in the leaste but they were much vnsatisfied with the Comiti, of Treaty, for neglecting and not performing the trust laid vnto their charge; by which protestation you see the Bishops gave noe cause to Ormond to depart Kelkennie for Dublin, nor as much as thought of his goeing, or suspected in the least that he would be gon, but his owne conscience whyspered various thoughts vnto him: soe that *vere trepidabat timore vbi non erat timor.* He trembled with feare where there was noe occasion of feare: howeuer since this great man departed for Dublin, he fostered an inveterat odium against the Bishops and Cleargy swearing and protesting he will be avenged of that stinking creuw (soe he is heard to call them); which vnusuall forme of speech to an intire, and of an intire body of Bishops, vertuous, learned, and honorable men, (divers of them being noblie descended.) If this be I say a language beseeming a noble man of Ormonds qualitie, or rather the language of a rash, profane, and insolent person, let any discreet man iudge.

CHAP. VII.

The Calumnies and aspersions cast by Fa. Wailsh vpon the Congregation of Iamestowne, and especially that of forcing the Lord Leutenant out of the Kingdom, confuted; and their proceedings justified.

Four yeares after this Congregation of Waterford, an other convened in Iamestowne (a litle towne in Conaght) two yeares after the second peace concluded with Ormond in the yeare 1648, by the vnanimous consent of the Kingdom: Ormond keapt a great stirr with this Congregation, and Fa. Wailsh (who busied himselfe still and always in verifying of Ormonds doeings) must needs write vnhandsomly of that venerable congregation, saying (in his litle printed booke, he calls by the name of "the more ample accompt. pag: 105) that vnfortunat and fatall Congregation gave a scandal which aspersed them, and aspersed not them, and the whole Irish Cleargy alone, but euen their Communion and Religion in its total extent, specially through these Nations. Further he says, they rendred the Catholicks vncapable of any mercy intended by the King for tender consciences; that great

argument being (saith he) the Irish rebellion in 41, the opposition and reiection of the peace of 46, with all the circumstances and consequents of euer since the fatall worke of Waterford Congregation: the opposition likewise made by a very considerable part of the Cleargy and people to the peace of 48, and the Cleargy's rendring it at last fruitless (euen I say after a general reception of, and submission to it) by the declaration made, and censure issued at Iamestowne, and by the indeuours before and afther that last vnfortunat meeting of the Bishops; finally their twice forcing, or at least putting a necessitie on his Majesties Leutenant to depart the Kingdom."

The diuin (who justifyed the casting away of the peace of 46) answered Wailsh in this kind. 'This fa: shewed himselfe presumptuous and to 'buissie in censuring the Cedars and Pillars of 'the Church, to whom he ought to bow his head 'for reuerence, and would haue done soe, had 'he been a true and humble child of S. Francis, 'all he haue said, or can say, will come to no-'thing, and his arguments will be found of noe 'more strenght then a wauering reed, (such a thing 'he is) for hauing plaid Iack on both sides; will he 'dare say he had more piety then all the Bishops and 'Cleargy of the Kingdom? more learning then they 'all in one body? more loue to the flocks and people? 'more fidelitie to the King? more interrest in the 'nation? or had he better knowledge of what past 'since the making the peace of 48, till the meeting

'of Iamestowne, then they all? what authoritie, 'power or comission had he to iudge the decrees 'of Bishops and Cleargy? he should rather have 'listened to Seneca's advise, *si judicas, cognosce*, 'know affore you iudge, he knew not the grounds 'the Bishops went vpon, and consequently gaue 'an erronious iudgment; there needs noe other 'reasons, or arguments for convincing him then 'the view of the acts and Decrees of the said 'congregation: in calling the congregation fatall and vnfortunat, he shews neither education or breeding towards these two venerable meetings.'

He is erroniously mistaken in saying they gaue cause of scandall to the people; as for the reuolution of 41. it hath been justified a holy and lawfull war, by a skilfull and learned pen: the Acts of the Congregation of Iamestowne alsoe haue been made good and maintained by what I haue writen, and was not yet answered by Fa: Wailsh; the peace of 48 was not rendred (as he pretends maliciously) fruitlesse by those of Iamestowne, or the people: the Irish Comissioners haue sufficiently proued this in London before his Majestie and Counsel. Besides the Bishops neuer intermedled in that peace, hauing still esteemed the same as a pretious iewel of the Kingdom dearly bought, and such as euery man desired to performe, it hath been already sufficiently proued that they did not render these Articles fruitlesse; but Fa: Wailsh sayes, they rendered them fruitleess by putting a necessitie

(which is the second proposition objected against them) vpon the Lord Leutenant to part the Kingdom, and this wee alsoe denie; Fa: Wailsh will find noe such decree of ours to that purpose: if his Excellency was able to doe any good in the extreme condition wee were in, why did not he stay? the obligation of being Lord Leutenant would haue him stay, and this was not taken from him, the truth is he was not able by his staying to face the enemie, or defend what as yet was in the King's possession, and this it it made him goe away, ashamed and confounded to have lost vs all wee had in our possession, when he made the peace with vs, and that he saw noe way of regaining the places lost, this made him leaue the Gouernment with the Lord Marques of Clanricard, when he saw evidently all was goeing to wrack; they say it is a secret instinct of ratts to leaue houses that are like to goe to ruine, or vessells that are to be drowned: this truth we haue found by experience; the Lord Leutenant had a stronger ground for leauing Irland, then the secret instinct of these smal beasts, reason made him euidently know that Irland was to be soon lost, (his coming to vs was a great, if not the only cause of this vnrecouerable losse) and that destruction was approaching their doores: shall I make this manifest? First there was noe mony, nor treasure to pay the soldiers, which did not vse to fight without good pay, though our cause for fighting was the best

in the world, for liues, liberties, fortunes, estates, and religion; wee had good experience of this, and wee neuer saw in any countrie soldiers soe wel paid; now cleare it is, there was noe way for paying, ergò noe fighting to be expected; secondly there was noe amunition of pouder far defending the places wee had, nor for field service; would men (thinke you) expose themselues as marks to the enemie, expresly to be killed without any defense? Thirdly there was noe revenue, or rents to be had for supporting in the future the souldrie, officers, traine of Artillerie, pensions for Commissioners of trust, and other necessarie Commissioners attending the Armie and publick: this truth is cleare out of the Gentlemen Commissioners at London, to witt, "that there was noe towne or considerable place when his Excellency did depart, in his Majesties hands, but Limerick and Galway, and the Counties of Galway and Clare, the other parts of Connaght being wast, and the rest of the Kingdom lost; all which (as they auerre) happened before the proceedings of that part of the Cleargy mett at Iamestowne, as was said before. Fourthly there was noe expectation of ayde from any part of the world."

In this place I shall desire my Lord of Ormond or Fa: Wailsh for him to name me any person, Lord, Gentleman, Citizen, marchand or yeoman, that would giue at that time by way of lone, or gift vnto the publick any thing? what

hopes then had my Lord Leutenant of any substance to maintaine the war? they will say there remained as yet the Citties Limerick and Galway, and in these were many rich men; but let him tell me who was able to get these riches; the Lord Bishop of Limerick? noe; the Arch-bishop of Tuam ordinarie of Galway? noe; the Commissioners of trust; nor those, noe nor all the Bishops and Clergy of the Kingdom with them; nor my Lord Leutenant himselfe; in whose face they shut their gates: I confess my Lord Leutenant had his faction in Limerick (though the maior and honnester part were against him) the recorder Stackpole a rotten fellow, his Creaghs, Whites, Macnemarras and Fenells, all these did not prouide the least in way of loane or otherwise: they painted honnest men in ill collours, and tould his excellency vnder hand, they were to be suspected, and feared; but at last they them selues proued traitours and knaues, and these they would haue suspected, proued honnest men, true to God, king and countrie; tell me (I beseech) who were they, who fouly betrayed Limerick to Irton, after many months noble resistance, were they of the lord Leutenants faction; or of those adhered to the cleargy? they were the lord Leutenants people, the aboue named, who betrayed the towne and bloud of innocents: who were they Irton put to death? they were those adhered to the cleargy and Kingdom, Terence O'Brien Bishop of Emilie (the

Bishop of the towne escaped narrowly) Sr. Geffery Galloway, Geffery Barron, an ornament to his country; Mr. Dominick Faunin Alderman, Mr. Thomas Stritch Alderman a right honnest man; Mr. Higgens Doctor in physick, and fa: Laurence Wailsh priest, these were all put to death by Irton: Hugo Neale a man nobly borne, and who stoutly before defended Clonmel, taken prisoner was sent to London, committed to the tower, and had suffered but that he proued himselfe Alien born in Flanders, though of Irish parents: did any Creagh or White or Stackpole &c. dye or suffer that day? noe, but Irton one of the kings great murtherers struck dead those he thought loued the king, what noise then doth this giddy friar keape about Ormonds departing the Kingdom, and must stone to death all the Bishops and cleargy for hauing (as he says, but falsly) forced Ormond away? and if he had stayed, let him tell me, what could he doe more then the marquez of Clanricard haue done, whome he left in trust with the Gouerment? he was not able to doe soe much, and this father, and all the Kingdom knew it, and this indeed made him part the Kingdom: let then any tell me doth not Fa: Wailsh speake against his conscience, when he pretends the Bishops did force the Lord Leutenant away; again let this father tell me would not the people that obeyed his excellency's orders, commands, and letters at Loaghreagh, and who vexed much for his sake

the Bishops and Cleargy for what was done at Iamestowne, and for having indeauoured to doe them all good: did not these in that Assemblie disclaime in, and seeme to detest the proceedings at Iamestowne to pleasure his excellencie (I meane the major part, but not the sounder part of them) would not these people keepe him, if he had been pleased to stay? nor did the Prelats intend to cross there the major vote of the Assembly, for all their decrees, and excommunications were made with this limitation, that the Assembly whensoeuer they were pleased to meet, could dispose of all things in order to their owne preseruation; and consequently could of the matter of the Lord Leutenant's goeing or staying: and would not they who soe adhered to him, stand or fall with his excellency? to fall they were sure had he stayed; and some of them knew he went expresly away that he might not be spectatour of soe great a fall and ruine, as that of a Kingdom.

I confess ingeniously the Bishops and cleargy at Iamestowne wished my lord would goe away, and why? for grudg or spleen to his person? certainly they had noe such thoughts, but they foresaw the ruine and destruction of the people could not be auoyded he staying with them, and this before God was their feare and judgement of him, and there could not be in the world a more evident presumption for judging and fearing, as they did, and for this reason (though not

certaine his departure would cure the dangerous distemper of the Kingdom) some hopes they had, that the vnion of the People would be greater, and courrage, and more cheerfully contribut to their owne preservation; this was really the intention and mind of that congregation, which I knowingly doe speake; let Fa: Wailsh put in print what propositions or dreames he pleaseth, or build castles in the ayre for excusing Ormond. This well grounded feare of theirs, and the desire they had of the Peoples preservation, moved them to write to his Excellencie in an humble manner that he would be pleased to take a viage for France to the Queen and Prince (now King whom God preserve) for to get aydes and succour, and to leave the Goverment in some trusty hand; with this letter they sent the Bishop of Drommore (a great frind of Ormond's) and Charles Kelly Dean of Tuame to express their intentions to his Excellencie.

Heere I set you downe the letter and instructions, that you may passe your iudgement on them, and first I giue you this notice that in that graue Congregation was not a woord spoken of his Excellencie other then with respect due to his person, qualite, and greatness, though there were then persons present seuerall Bishops and other Cleargymen turned out of their Churches, and homes, not well knowing which way to turne themselues, which calamitie befell them in time of his goverment.

The Letter of Iamestowne Congregation to the Lord Leutenant.

"May it please your excellencie wee receaved your letter of the second currant, wherein to our admiration wee saw some expressions that seems meant for casting the blame vpon vs of the present sad condition of the Kingdom, which wee hope in good time to answer to the satisfaction of the whole world and Nation, in the meane time wee premit this protestation as wee are Christian Catholik Prelats that wee have don our endeavours with all earnestnesse and candor for taking away from the harts of all, jealousies, and diffidences occasioned (as wee conceave) by soe many disasters that befell the Nation of late, and that in all occasions wee were reddy to accompanie all your Excellencies designes for preservation of all his Majesties interests in this Kingdom, whose state being for the present desperat, wee thought it fit and our duty to offer vnto your Excellency our sense of the one only possibilitie and meanes wee could divise for its preservation, and that by the intervention and expression of my Lord of Drommore and Doctor Kelly dean of Tuame; they will clearly deliver our thoughts, and good intentions as to this effect: wee pray your Excellency to giue full credit to what they shall say in our name in this businesse, which will be still owned as our commands laid on them,

and the expression of the sincere harts of your Excellencies very loving servants etc. . . . .

"Iamestowne 10. Aug: 1650."

This letter was signed by all the Bishops sitting in the Congregation. The instructions that accompanied this letter, were as followeth.

"First yee are to present vnto his Excellency the uast destructions, and desolations of the Kingdom, the Citties, townes, places, etc. that wee have lost in the space of few months, especially Wexford, Ross, Kilkennie, Clonmel, Cashel, Carrick, the forts of Tiecrohan, Carlow, &c. almost the whole Provinces of Munster and Linster, with the churches and church livings in them, and that the Cittie of Waterfoord and the fort of Dunkanan blockt vp by the enemie) noe armie being to releeve them) are in danger to be soone lost, as alsoe the rest of the kingdom not yet lost, which is but this Province of Connaght, and the countie of Clare.

2. "That the People seeing noe visible armie for their deffence to oppose the enemie, are come to despaire of recovering what is lost, or deffending what wee hould; and inclining (for the safty of their lives and estates) to compound with the Parlament, by which agreement the Kings authoritie will be infallibly cast off, the Catholick faith (soe wee feare) with the time exstinguished, and the Nation first enslaved, will perhaps in the end be pluckt vp root and branch.

3. " Yee shall protest before God, Angels and men, in the name and behalfe of the Congregation, that the Prelats of this Kingdom have employed their earnest and best endeavour for removing the feares and jealousies of the people, and that they have noe power to doe it, finding the vniversal sense of the people to be, that fate doth waite upon these times.

4. " Yee shall present to his Excellency how wee finding noe other human expedient remedie for the preservation of this Nation, and his Majesties interest therein, then the speedy repiare of his Excellency to the Queen and Prince in France, for preventing the destruction of all, doe humbly pray he leave the Kings authoritie in the hands of trusty persons to his Majestie, and faithfull to the nation, and to such as the affection and confidence of the people will follow, by which the rage and furie of the enemie may with Gods grace receave some interruption; wee humbly offer this important matter of safty or destruction of the Nation, and the Kings interest to his wisdom and consideration, and yee shall assure his Excellency, wee shall in the meane time doe what lyeth in our power to assist the persons intrusted by his Excellencie.

" Yee are alsoe to pray his Excellencie will be pleased to give yee an answer within few dayes, for that wee are not in a condition to continue long togither."

I aske, if there be any thing in this letter,

message, or instructions, but what is humain, civil, and with great respect to his Excellencie? In this nature the Bishops soe demeaned themselves, even then when the greatest danger of distruction was over them, yea when most of them were destroyed alredy, and reduced to extreme pouerty, through the loss of the kingdom in the short time of his goverment.

I further demand is there any thing in this that fauours of treason or disaffection to his Majestie, or of opposing or destroying of the peace, or of desire to put aside the Kings authoritie and gouerment? was there any thing in all these proceedings could offend this noble man? or could any man draw out of this an occasion of carping or reprehending the Prelats? certainly noe man, excepting this father, or some other Ormonian flatterer: was it I pray you, soe haighnous a crime to desire the Lord Leutenant to take a viadge to the Queen and Prince, for to seeke supplies to support the war, and leaue the Kings authoritie behind him, in hope wee might doe some thing against the enemie in his absence by these intrusted by him, in as much as he himselfe did nothing all that time, but lost vs all wee had as likewise what was gained from the enemie in the begining of his owne Goverment? great Generals have been displaced for want of success, though valorous soever; this have been don in the Roman and Atthenian commonwealths the most florishing in the world.

An ancient old woman came to Philip king of Macedon in presence of all his Grandes, beseeching his Majestie to give eare to her complaints, and doe her justice, the king replyed, he had noe leasure to attend her, at which answer the bould poore woman said in presence of them all, *igitur né sis Rex?* what are you King for, but to doe vs iustice? if you will not heare me lay downe your crowne, which you got to doe me iustice; immediatly this great king stood vp, gaue her audience, did her iustice: would it not, I pray, well become my lord of Ormond to listen to the iust and reasonable request of soe many Bishops, spiritual fathers of the people, while they humbly prayed him to take in hand a viadge? certainly I am confident that the great Manarchs of Spaine and France would give eare to what soe many Bishops would say, and take it much to their serious consideration, and I doubt not but our owne King would have don it, though of a different religion.

It hath been said by some of his owne friends, that he himselfe desired to take such a viadge in hand, but in as much as the Bishops desired him, he went backe from his owne resolution, what the reason is I know not, if not to crosse their desire.

CHAPTER VIII.

The true Iealousies of the Irish Catholicks at London, that Ormond was to desert them, well set forth by F. Wailsh in a letter to Ormond, with certain observations made vpon the same letter.

Now we come to the jealousies and feares of the Catholick nobilitie and Gentrie in London, yeare 1660. well set forth in a letter from F. Wailsh vnto Ormond, who, not-with standing all the rest did feare, yet the F. did not, nor as much as suspect of Ormonds disaffection and realtie to his countrie, and Catholick frinds, wherefore Ormond may say to him, what our Saviour said to the Centurian, *Mat. c.* 8. *Non inveni tantam fidem in Israel.* Here I give you the fathers letter.

A letter from Peeter Wailsh *to the marquez now duke of* Ormond *and second time lord leutenant of* Irland, *desiring a Iust and mercifull regard may be had of the Roman Catholicks of* Irland, *written* Octob: 1660.

"Since I had the honour of speaking last to your Excellencie, I reflected (by reason of several dis-

courses had this week with persons of qualitie) on the dayly increase of the feares and jealousies of my countriemen, which is the reason that insteed of waiting vpon you this morning about priuat concernments, (as I intended) I chose rather out of my vnalterable affection to your selfe, to give first this paper, and therin my thoughts, and my desires relating to the publick, that is, to yourselfe, to his Maiestie, and his Kingdom of Irland.

"My lord I thought fit to tell you that considering the general feare seized alreddy almost on all the Nobilitie, and Gentry, and others here of that nation, and reflecting on the vast difference t'wixt my owne beleefe and theirs, it seemes vnto me I behould in vs all (particularly who have relied for soe many yeares on your vertue) some-what fulfilled not vnlike the misterious extinction of all the lights to one in the ceremonie of Tenebræ in holy weeke: for my lord I observe in the generalitie of the Catholicks of Irland here, even (I say) of those, who have been soe long your constant beleevers, your passionat frinds, a dimness and darkness seazing their judgment, even your fastest sticklers heretofore, loosing at present their expectation of your future appearance for them, and hopes of their delivery by you at any time evermore: some through ignorance of states affaires, and intrigues obstructing as yet; others through inconsideration of these wayes to you knowne, much wiser, though

slower then folly and rashness could chalke out: and some out of prejudice, or an euil will, which blinds them, and makes them abuse the timorousness and credulity of all they can to lessen your esteeme and your dependence, all they are able.

"My lord, these thoughts, which more and more troubled me dayly, because I have dayly new occasions to reflect on them, and therefore would noe longer but give them your Excellency even in this method and writing, that they may take the deeper impression, as very much concerning you, since your one welfare, and the kings and peoples, (in my jugment) very much depend on a good esteeme of soe great a minister as your great deserts have made you.

"But with all my lord I will give your Excellency my most earnest and most harty desire, that you delay noe longer then shall be necessary to cleare these clouds of darkness, and cleare them in this present conjuncture by an effectuall demonstration of the justice and favour you intend the Catholicks in your Articles of 48. when they soe freely put themselves, and their power into your hands."

Father Wailsh your letter is well penn'd expressing excellently the general feare that seazed vpon all the Catholics of our nation in London; a truer expression could not be. "I observe," you say, "in the generality of Irland here, even I say of those, who have beene soe long as well

your constant beleevers, as your stedfast frinds a dimness &c." And for the better persuading him to shew his vertue and affection to his Catholick friends, you tell him, "his own welfare, the kings &c. did much depend on a great esteeme of soe great a minister as his great deserts have made him:" Nothing can be said in reason to moue a gallant man more then what you have said. In the end of your letter you presse him closely to doe the Catholicks justice by vertue of the Articles of 48. saying "when they put themselves and their power into your hands soe freely."

Certainly good fa: had Ormond loved you and the Catholicks of Irland (those you name his fastest frinds and sticklers) as much as you and they loved him, would he have given a good answer to your rational lines, but you tell nothing of his answer, if good or bad; if it were good, I am sure you would have published it amongst the rest of his great vertues, soe as your silence in this argues noe good answer: all you prayers good fa: to Ormond are in vaine, you have cast your seed in a barren land, *Hoc est supra Petram*, and your prayers withered and shrank.

Had Ormond been a worthy man and lover of his country, he had dispersed those clouds of darkness as you desired him, taking away those feares of his true frinds by appearing for the nation as behoved a just man, and as he was

bound by vertue of the articles of 48. himselfe being the kings commissioner vpon concluding that peace. These are the affections and dutyes required at his hands by the Catholicks.

Doth his greatness (thinke you) give him a Privilege that the Catholicks should love him, and he hate them; that men nobly borne and many other worthy persons should for soe many years rely vpon him putting great trust in him, and he in the end should betray them in the greatest concernment they had in the world? if he hath in this done like a true Christian or gallant nobleman head of soe ancient a family, judge you and all others?

You speake after of Ceremonies and Tenebræ, all wee had from Ormond were but Tenebræ and Darkness, nor did your glorious light in the Triangle ever shine propitious to the Catholicks: his trusty frinds and sticklers have too long relyed vpon a reed of Egypt, a reed without stay or vertue, such as your Ormond was and is. Such in London of our Nation (as you say) that feared he would prove, as he shewed himselfe, I see were wiser then you, that trusted soe much in him, and could not be persuaded he would play booty in the end and abandon the Catholicks, their feare was grounded in good reason, and your confidence in him was vaine, and you remaine still deceaved in that your confidence; oh! would to God the Catholicks had feared him in good time, if soe, Ormond had never come to

the power of annoying them, or to loose them; but *Sero sapiunt phryges*: he deceaved the person most trusted in him, and did beleeve (as you doe) that he would prove the deliverer of his country; I meane the Earle of Clancarty (then lord viscont Musgry) his brother in law, who seemed sore vexed in his dying bed for having placed trust in Ormond, (an errour destructive to his Nation) and tould his Excellency (then was the time not to dissemble) the heauyest feare that possessed his soule goeing vnto an other world was for confiding soe much in him, who deceaved them all, and lost his poore country and countrymen.

Jt is plain truth (and F. Wailsh you know it to be soe) the great opinion very many of the assembly had of the sound jugement of my lord Clancarty (speaking nothing of his high descent an fortune) made many of the nobles and gentry follow him, and in the end they all found themselves deluded.

You know well that young Musgry (Clancarty his heire) who was Colonell in France, a stout and valiant person, one of the hopefullest men of his Nation, (who was killed in the first war at sea against the Hollanders) could never indure his vncle Ormond after seeing his sinistrous wayes, his cunning artifices, and his deserting the Catholicks soe fouly.

You have indeed F: earnestly prayed Ormond and conjured him to appeare for the Nation, and to obtaine for them the benefit of the Articles of

the peace of 48. (which he himselfe was bound in honnor and conscience to doe) and you constantly expected their delivery by him; and when shall that be thinke you? even then, when the Iews shall see their Messias long waited for.

Honnest friar, Ormond hath deceaved you, and tooke a course to increase and secure his owne fortunes, he collogued with your countrymen; and in the end stuck to that side, that preyed and robbed them of their estates, and amongst all he had the greatest share, as is well knowne to all; yet not a woord of this in your writings, of the high elogies you give of his wisedom, vertue, and most pretious qualities that can adorne a states-man.

CHAPTER IX.

In this Chapter is clearly set downe Ormonds *wrongfull invasion and possession of several* Irish *Catholick gentlemens estates, well expressed in the case of* Sr. Robert Lynch *knight and Barronet.*

Ormond hath invaded against conscience justice and honour the estates of hundreds of poore in-

nocent Catholicks: I beseech you, what title or right had his Grace to the estate of Sr. Robert Lynch knight? (whom I doe instance for a thousand more, not for any acquaintance with him) what right I say had he to this knight's estate? vpon what accompt did he invade the islands of Aaron this gentleman's inheritance and had his son Richard created earle of that place and estate: it is manifestly known that *Dominium perfectum & plenum* of said estate was in Sr. Robert Lynch and his heires, and yet my lord tooke those lands from him, *quo titulo quo jure* is the question; deffend F. Wailsh if you can in this place your great patron; *ipsa svnderesis* tould Ormond, that he was doeing wrong and robbery the lands appertaning to Sr. Robert, that *judicium naturale quo* (as S. Basil speakes) *ab iniquis, bona facile discernere possumus*, clearly convinced Ormond that he was doeing a robbery; that law of nature, *quod tibi non vis fieri alteri ne feceris*, that light of which holy David speakes, *signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui domine:* all those sacred lawes cryed out the depriving of Sr. Robert Lynch of his estate, was *factum contra legem dei œternam:* all those lights of God and nature condemnes this fact, soe that *finis operis & finis operantis, objectum circnmstantiæ; & omnia quæ agebat* Ormonius *erant contra legem Dei;* what then can he say or plead for himselfe? or you for him? he cannot alleage that he acquired that *Dominium* by any pact, stipulation, donation, per-

mutation or prescription; what then will men say in this case? noe other then that Ormonds invading that gentleman's lands was *apertum latratinium.*

Likely you may tell me the King made a grant to Ormond of the said knights estate; you know well that *in lege naturæ* noe human power can dispense, and it is certaine that the law of nature doth bind all kind of men, and that none can pretend exemption from the force of that law, the impression thereof being a light made in every man's haert, soe that this law binds as well the prince as the lowest man: *legi naturæ* (saith Lactantius) *nec prærogari fas est, nec derogare ex hoc aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest, nec vero aut per senatum, aut per populum hac lege liberari possumus:* shall I say more? probable it is that God himselfe cannot dispense in the law of nature, take S. Thomas his authority for it: *quia id sapientiæ divinæ omnino repugnat, proindeque fieri non potest* 1. 2. *quæst.* 100 *ar.* 8. *& ratio est* (saith the saint) *quia lex naturalis nihil aliud est, vt docet* S. Aug: *quam ipsius eternæ legis & incommutabilis rationis ipsius divinæ sapientiæ in mentibus hominum facta transcriptio.* Now it is evidently cleare a man's life, liberty, fame, lands, estates and fortunes are his owne by the law of nature, and that by force of the same law *qui suis potest se defendo & sua, vini vi repellere;* and soe could Sr. Robert against Ormond invading his estate had he beene, able to doe soe.

But you will say the lands and estates of subjects forfeited to the king for treason, rebellion, and other like crimes by way of attaindeur may be disposed of by the king: I grant that, but this authority for taking away from such men their lands and estates, the prince hath from the law of nature, which doth not protect any privat man to doe against the publick good, wherefore the commonwealth can take away the life of a man and his estate, (though both are his by the law of nature) when he transgresses against the prince or publick good; to whom by pact or law of nature he should obey: this the prince can doe for justice sake, but not for convenience, or at his will and pleasure; for the bonds prescribed to the jurisdiction of a prince, are justice, law, and reason, and not to doe his owne pleasure. Now I would know from you what crime hath Sr. Robert committed? was he convinced of any crime against the king before any bench of justice? what hath he done? who charged him? the law of England (a good law) sayes noe man can be condemned but by course of law, that is the subjects birth-right, and to that effect are lawes made, that justice may be don to all men: princes are obliged in conscience to administer justice ackording to the law.

I demand againe, what hath Sr. Robert Lynch don? you will say he was ingaged in the Irish rebellion, (for soe you still call that just war,

which you could never as yet prove nor never shall) but grant it hath been a rebellion, Sr. Robert Lynch, as all the confederat Catholicks, had an act of oblivion from the king, in the peace of 48. *ergo* your rebellion was pardonned, *ergo* Sr. Robert Lynch cannot loose his estate for that, nor hath he since that time entred into a new rebellion, or committed any act of treason; Ormond cannot say he broake the Articles of peace of 48. for he still observed them, and adhered to the gouverment and to Ormond, and had nothing to doe with the congregation of Iamestowne whose acts were by Ormond esteemed or reputed treasonable: tell me then what right had Ormond to that noble gentleman's estate? you see the King's grant (if any he gave) being against the law of nature and the law of the land is voyd, and cannot excuse Ormond's conscience, and if the king by a wrong information, had granted one man's estate to an other, that other cannot prescribe, *quia numquam erat in bona fide*, and consequently in conscience he is bound to restore the said estate, because he houlds it *mala fide:* and the prince himselfe rightly informed is obliged in conscience to have the estate restored to the right owner.

But now let us returne to the other part of the F: letter, wherin he vseth a Christian freedom of minding the king and Ormond how dangerous a thing is the violation of publick faith,

and how such transgressors have beene severly punished in all ages; but above all he brings downe a formidable example of publick faith broken with the Gabionites, and how King David for appeasing the great famin, and the anger of God come vpon the people, delivered to said Gabionites seaven children and nephews of Saul, who crucifyed them alive upon a montaine to expiat this publick horrid sin even in the face of sun. *Lib.* 2. *Reg. c.* 21. he ends his letter to Ormond thus:

"My lord I conclude here but with my harty wishes, that in the house, and at the Counsells of our great king, your Excellency may both appeere, and prove your selfe hereafter, what you are in part already, an other Ioseph, that by the best advises you may preserve the best of Princes and all his people of soe many different nations of the British monarchy; may it be soe my lord and may the Catholicks of Irland in particular owne you a great deliverance; as I can not but confidently expect from you in due time, for my light in the triangle cannot be extinguished. But my lord may not innocent Benjamen alone, nor frindly Ruben onely, but even Symeon and Levi, and their complices against you heretofore have cause to blesse God for you here after; may they all find in effect, that you have the bowells of Ioseph to forgive and compassionat them, and his power to deliver them,

and his faith to beleeve that God permitted their evil against you even in forcing you twice away from them, of purpose to preserve you for their good, and that you might returne even this second time their great deliverer. Propitious heaven and your owne good Genius (my lord) second my wishes, and may your faith-full beleever see with his owne eyes the full accomplishment; that he may employ all his dayes after, and all his labours in consecrating to posterity your name, with this Elogium of Ioseph, the saviour of his brethren, and of his country, and of all the People, and these are the harty wishes of my lord

"your Excellencies most humble
"and most devoted servant P. W."

Here is a glorious perclose of that famous letter; good God what a faire flourish wee have here of magnificent woords, and even nothing but woords, vowes, and dreaming wishes, that will take effect at once with the Velleities of the damned soules of hell: first he insinuats the great wisedom of Ormond in the house and counsells of the king, and would make vs beleeve he will appeare like an other Ioseph, and by the best of advises preserve the best of Princes our gratious king and all his people of soe many different nations of the Brittish monarchy; soe as the very Brittish crowne is againe like to suffer an other fatal knock, if Ormond's divine coun-

sells and advises doe not prevent it; what man can read these magnalia without gearing at this fryar's folly? he then says, may the Catholicks of Irland in particular owe you a great diliverance, as I can not but confidently exspect from you in good time, for my light in the triangle can not be extinguished. Certainly the man have been in a pleasant humour and some jouiall exstasie when he wrote these things; but I see the spirit of prophesie forsooke this friar long agoe, and nothing (I am sorry for it) fell out according his prognostication, for Ormond did quite deceave him in his hopes, and astrean predictions, and his false light in the triangle (if ever it was in the triangle) is shamefully put out; for the people of Irland in stead of this hopefull deliverance owe to Ormond their downfall and vtter destruction. He then speaks of beloved Benjamen of frindly Ruben, as likewise of Symeon and Levi and their complices against Ioseph giving therby to vnderstand that the Catholicks sould Ormond as Ioseph's brethren sould him to the Egyptians, which is as great a lye as could be framed by a diabolick mind, wheras Ormond, if he did not sell the nation (as Clarendon the Chanchelour did) he hath at leastwise betrayed them in trust; pray good F: name the marchand to whome wee sould your Ormond? tell the price wee had for selling him? name the country he was transported vnto.

Now he comes to the bowells of Ioseph in Or-

mond, O the mercifull bowells of Ormond in compassionating his countrymen! It is true he had great power to doe vs good, but turned that power to destruction, carryed away by a spirit of rancor and revenge: wheras you say wee forced Ormond away out of the country, it is a shamfull lye; but he himselfe withdrew, in as much as he could doe noe good to the countrie (as above said) next you tell us he will become the great deliverer of his countrie: O the great deliverer Ormond of his countrie and countriemen! of the Catholicks of Irland, noble Ormond! that brought them out of chaines and bondage, that defended them faith-fully against Orery, Montrath, and the rest of that rabelment of rebells when they had a contest before king and counsel; that consoled them in their extremities, delivered them from hunger and famin, that represented to the king their loyalty and affection, and made good to them the Articles of 48. O wonderfull deliverer of the nation Ormond! The lying friar perclosed his letter with this great elogium and prayer: That Ormond may prove a Ioseph and saviour of his brethren, and of his Countrie and of all the people.

Change your stile idle and vaine friar, writ truth once in your life, and tell the world that thy Ormond hath not been a Ioseph, nor saviour, but the ruine, looser, and destroyer of his brethren, and countrie and of all the people. You may as wel prove crueltie to be mercy, Helio-

gabalus was a Cato Vticensis, or a Photion of Athens, and that Messalina wife to Claudius was a vestal nun, as that Ormond was a Ioseph to the Irish.

Let who please compare Ormond with Ioseph, and then judge this friar apostatizing from all pietie and his order, a lyar in calling Ormond a Ioseph.

Ioseph in Putiphar's house was faithfull to his maister, contenent and vertuous; Ioseph in prison was patient, obedient to Gods will, and beloved of all; Ioseph in the court and governement of Egypt was wise, just, humble, and in noe way proud or arrogant; if Ormond hath those vertues, let those that know him tell vs. Ioseph was of soe great wisedom and Providence, as he prevented seaven yeares famine by gathering corne in time of plenty, and selling it in time of scarcity and hunger to the people, thereby preserving them all from starving, wherefore Pharo called Ioseph the saviour of the world: surely the friar cannot stile Ormond saviour of Irland or of the Irish in this sense; he preserved none of them from famin, but starved thousands of them, by taking away their lands, estates and bread: this his crvel tyrannie and oppression of the poore makes them strick the gates of heaven with grones and sighes and cryes, they all say aloud O Ormond cruel man! "thou hast taken away the pleadge of thy brethren without cause, and the naked thou hast spoiled of cloathes,, widdowes thou

hast sent away emptie, and the armes of pupills thou hast broken in peeces." Iob. c. 22.

Those are flatering friar the workes of mercy Ormond thy Ioseph have done the Catholicks of Irland; that is the tenderness of his mercifull bowells towards them, those are the effects of his great affection and care of them; and all this being soe, speake fa: Wailsh truth and shame the divel, what hath thy Ormond to doe with Ioseph? thy Ormond (I say) a man, (of whome it is generally spoken and beleeved) could never forgive any thing that looked like an offence, or injurie done him, wheras mercy was the greatest vertue in Ioseph, and his remitting and forgiving the injuries done him by his brethren who sold him over to the Egyptians.

CHAPTER X.

Evident proofes of Ormonds deserting the Catholicks cheefly drawen out of his owne letter to Orery.

From the feares of the Catholicks of our nation in London, that Ormond was to desert them, and their good cause, let us pass to cleere arguments fully convincing that noble man of this his mind and determination to abandon said Catholicks and joyne with Orery and the rest of that tribe, as really he did.

God said to the Prophet Ezechiel. "Son of man digge the wall, and when I had digg'd the wall there appeared one doore and he saith to me, goe in and see the most wicked abominations, which they doe here." I am now comming to digg the wall, where you shall see the abominations Ormond was doeing even about the time the credulous friar wrote him the above letter; what I am to say here will appeare evidently by Ormond's owne letter to Orery, which is in this forme.

Ormond's letter to Orery.

"My Lord agreable to the particular friendship I desire to have inviolably with your Lordship, that upon occasion, the King's naming me to the gouvernement of Irland, I should have writen particularly to you, but I held it not soe particularly necessarie, because I vnderstood a principal condition is that noe change should be made in that, hoever it may make me more or less able to serve you, soe that I presume on the old foot, and lay asside all ceremonies: I hope you will find, that since I had some title to make it my business, the maine dispaches in order to the setlement of that Kingdom, have not gon on slower then before, which with some thrifty alterations hath past his Majesties approbation in full counsel, and will speedyly be transmitted, and if it be possible the great act of setlement with it, that with the retrenchements, the secu-

ritie as well of their possessions, as of a constant payement, of what is left of pay, may be secured vnto them; I assure you noe diligense nor meanes shall be wanting or omitted on my side to hasten both to you. I thank your ldsp. for General Preston's pious oath, I neaver saw it before, but the fruits of it, and of an other perjurie soone after I found; and in truth found nothing but direct treachery and disobedience from the generalitie of that people, governed by the worst spiritual guides, that ever lead a poore people to destruction, but they doe, and it is just they should, find the smart of it: I have a designe to make that smart where it is reason it should, it is to execute the act in all the fundation of it, which must be immoveable by way of plantation, and transplatation (I meane of the Irish) for it must be laid as a ground, that noe adventurer or soldier shall be removed from his lott, by which all the ends of satisfaction and security, I think will be mett; which my conceptions are in the hands of your frind, and tells me he liketh them well; when they are brought to forme you shall have them sent you. I am yours &c. Ormond.

CHAPTER XI.

A paraphrase vpon the misterious meaning of this letter.

In this letter a blind man may parceaue the great affection Ormond beares to the Cromwelians, and his longing desire to see them paid and satisfyed of all their challenge and demands; more could not be desired by them, then what is promised by Ormonds letter (the 12. Counties in Irland that Cromwel and the then parlament allotted them) the same affection and care he hase of the adventurers of London, as deeply in rebellion as the rest Vnderstood here; "for it must be (said Ormond) laid as a ground, that noe adventurer nor soldier shall be remoued from his lott, by which all the ends of satisfaction and securitie, I thinke will be mett; which my conceptions are in the hands of your frind, and tells me he likes them well:" this frind he meanes is Clarendon, who sold away Irland and the Catholicks of Irland; Ormonds conceptions ran vpon the satisfaction and securitie of the Cromwelians, that they should not be remoued from their lott, neither the adventurers; in manner that by this frindly distribution, there was nothing left to the Catholicks, for what the Cromwelians and ad-

venturers possessed, were 22. countyes of thirty two in all Irland.

If Cromwel were but aliue againe, and hauing an act of grace from his majestie for himselfe, he could not demand nor desire more for his close Sticklers, then what Ormond assures them of. Good friar trouble your braines noe more with these Strained letters of yours vnto Ormond as for favour to the Catholicks, *conclusum est contra ipsos:* all is disposed of, and to the very rebells, your Ormond have stopt his eares to your flattering eloquence, and left nothing to the poore innocent Catholicks, an eternal staine and blemish to his name and family: and this he was plotting (to your confusion friar be this spoken) this he was plotting I say, even then, and at the same time you strained your witt to pen him that learned letter: it is much, that for the confidence he placed in you his prone Orator, and affection he bore to his noble brother in law Clancarry, and Kindness to his gallant nephew young Musgry, that he concealed all these his hidden stratagems from you all, even from his intimat ould frind Mr. Beling.

This letter is replenished with tender love and affection to Orery, "my lord (said Ormond) agreable to the particular frindship I desire to have inviolably with your lordship:" what a sudden alteration (if they be sincerely spoken) is this, a noble man held still to be a royalist, to become soe vnexpectedly a fautor of Cromwelians, a

man as Ormond, who stuck soe closely to the king in his royal banishment, and vnparalel misfortunes, the kings cabinet counselor, to desire and insinuate freely (without solicitations from the other side) frindship and particular amitie, inviolably to be observed and performed with the kings mortal enemie, not long agoe, with Orery I meane, whose witt was brewing to crowne Cromwel king of the three kingdoms; Ormond tells this Orery. "I hope you will find that since I had some title to make it my business, the maine dispaches in order to the setlement of that kingdom, have not gon on slower then before, which with some thrifty alterations hath past his Majesties approbation in full counsel, and will speedyly be transmitted, and if it be possible the great act of setlement with it" &c. Ormonds businiess here (which he made his maine worke) was to vndermine and destroy the Irish intrest his settlement, (as hee means) is to see all disposed of to the Cromwelians, Aduenturers and Souldiers, not forgetting himselfe, and some others, as treacherous to Ireland, as hee himselfe, or Orrery; heere you may take notice of his godly conscience in hauing a speciall care to see a constant payment (of what is vnpayd,) secured for the vngodly crew: tell me Ormond, Sauiour and Ioseph of your Countremen, what is your meaning by a constant payment to those who fought soe vigorously against the Crowne and Royall Bloud? is this the Crownes interest?

will you haue reconciled enemies constantly in pay, and seruice? is this loyalty or loue to the King, to turne out true, and faithfull men to the Crowne, and confirme bloudy Traytours in theyr place? How many be there, that wonders as well abroad as at home, his Maiestie takes noe notice of these proceedings? certainly there can be no great argument of loue to the King, in forsaking his constant and faithfull subjects & making new frindship with his approued enemies, thy affection to Orrery & others doe sound some misterious pollicie, as men of weake capacitie cannot reach vnto, howeuer, there be those, that say that the roote of all this proceeds from an vnsatiable desire of (*auri sacra fames*) and willingness to be reuenged on the poore catholicks of the Nation.

He then thanks Orrery in his letter for an oath hee sent him that General Preston made, and sayes hee never saw it before, but found the fruits of it, and of another perjurie soone after. I need not in this place make mention of the ancient and noble familie of General Preston (Viscount of Taro) cadett to the most noble house of Gormanstowne the eldest and first house of viscounts in Irland, a familie allwayes true and faithfull to the crowne, and of great pietie and deserts; that the said Generall ever show'd hemselfe a gallant and valiant man in all dangers, is well knowne, and though Ormond and Orrery both have been Commaunders of Ar-

mies, the first under his Majeste, and the other under Cromwel, I can scarce beleeve either of them, gained (by, or in any expidition) as much honour and applause as Preston had at the seege of Lovain (where beseged by the French in the year 1634.) by a sallie made in the head of 300, of his owne regiment, vpon St. Peters day early in the morning, breaking vpon the French quarters, routing and killing all opposed or resisted him, to the losse of 200 and eightie French souldiers, returning victorious sound and safe without loosing a man, and was received with triumph and joy of all the people of Lovain, which noble exploit of his is celebrated by the famousest writers of those dayes, as Vernulœus and Puteanus. There was in General Preston a nother thing of greater prayse than all this, true Vertue and pietie, being a man that feared God, and loathed to doe against his commandments, soe that it is a calumnie to call him perjured; but if Orrery and Ormond shall be admitted to judge honest upright people, many will be by them censured as noble Preston is, for perfidious, and perjured men: but pray why may not Preston and others say to this Ormond, "*Quis te constituit Judicem?*" I will conclude with General Preston, for whom I doe say, that his life being sifted out from his childhood, he will not be found to have done any base or vile action.

Here Ormond is not resolved to stopp, but passes on further and sayes to his new moulded

Friend Orrery: "and in truth I found nothing but direct treacherie and disobedience from the generalitie of that People:" it is true "*Quod ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*," in this place; but I would have his grace know (in a frindly manner I speak) that there is nere a Butler a live, nor have been in times past, noe, nor of the Geraldines nor Bourkes (families renowned as any of the Butlers) nor even of the old princely bloud of that nation, as your o Brian, o Nealls, o Mourchoes, o Donnells, Macharties, o Connors, &c., whose word or testimonie would be esteemed, as to the blemishing of the generalitie of a nation, to make them treacherous and perfidious: Father Walsh harken and take notice of this splendid attestation your great Mecænas Ormond gives of the Catholick people of Irland, that in truth hee found nothing but direct Treacherie and disobedience from the generalitie of that people: what man soe impudent, would mantain soe notorious a reproach and infamie cast vpon a sound body of men, a whole nation faithfull and loyall ever and all wayes to the King: in this place good Father I discover that (notwithstanding your intimacy with Ormond) it doth not stopp him from giving you, the lie, who in severall places of your writings doe prove the generalitie of the Nation (though you write against some particulars) to have been loyall and faithfull to the King, now Ormond doth blemish the generalitie of the Nation by the fore-men-

tioned spott, hee turnes to the Bishops, Pastors, and Fathers of the people, and tells his loving Orrery, the people were governed by the worst spiritual guids, that ever lead a poor people to destruction, and sayes further, they doe it, and it is fitt they should find the smart of it, and that hee hath a designe to make the smart when it is most reason it should be.

Heere my Lord Duke usurps a great presumtion in saying the Bishopps were dismall guides to the people: he is far mistaken in his false suppositions, the Bishops were not they that misguided the people, & lead them a stray, he is mistaken I say again. *Vox populi* sayes it is he, and he alone (Ormond I mean) that lead them blind fould, deluded, and trapan'd them to theyr destruction, downefall and ruine, Seazing vpon all they had, Fortune, Libertie, and Estates, with the rest of his complices, and not the Bishops.

This good Duke seems to have a strange antipathie to these venerable Bishops, for each where he affronts them, (an argument of an ignominious minde) hee wil have noe peace with them. Though his Grace a while after the Kings restauration was created Duke, and Lord Steward of the Kings house, and Lord Leutenant of Irland, and one of his Majesties privie counsel in England and Earle of Brecknocke (in Wales) created, that he might sit in the Parlament of England; to be short hee attainted to

that hight of favour, with our good King, as none in the three Kingdoms did reach vnto; yet all this signified little or nothing to him, till he had seen those Catholicke Bishops (allredy much afflicted) trampled under his feet, theyre sufferings could not appease his wrath, theyre innocencie could not satisfie his conscience, nor theyre integritie rectifie his erronious judgement; but must needs write to his beloved Orrery, his new friend, saying "that these Bishopps were the worst spirituall guids that ever lead a poor people to destruction." This is Ormond's testimonie to the King of the good Bishops; he sayd they were Traytours and disaffected to his Majestie and crowne, (and sayes the same still) all this to kindle his Majesties indignation against them, and by that way to see himselfe revenged of an injurie (hee imagined) don him by those of the congregation of Waterford and Iamestown, of which wee have sayd enough above.

Saint Paul himselfe (diuine trumpet of the word of God,) though hee suffered cheerfully and innocently many reproaches, contumelies, and imprisonments for Gods cause and sake, yet hee would not have his fame to be taken away or stain'd *Bonum est enim* (saith the Apostle) *mihi magis mori quam ut Gloriam meam Quis evacuet;* Saint Ierome, in Imitation of Saint Paul, sayes *Ad Silentiam: Apostolici et Exempli, et Præcepti est, ut Habèamus rationem non conscientiæ tantum, sed etiam famæ;* Finally

Saint Augustin *Sermone tertio de vita Clericorum*, hath these words, *tenete quod dixi atque distinguite, duæ res sunt, Conscientia, et famæ, Conscientia Necessaria est tibi, fama Proximo tuo, qui fidens Conscientiæ snæ, negligit famam suam crudelis est.* The Bishops being innocent are to follow Saint Paules Example, to defend theire fame against Ormond, and greater man than hee, and theire Innocency, Piety, and knowne integrity will throughly defend them. My opinion is that Ormonds vnquietness coms from the hight of his spirit: for that the appetite of ambitious men is commonly soe inordinate, & theire will soe unbridled, they cannot indure to see themselves thwarted in the least, or crossed, soe that, though they possess never soe much contentment in all things, yet if in the least they finde themselves opposed, all the rest seems noysome unto them; an Example of which wee have in Holy Scripture, (in the book of Hester,) of Aman. who abounding in wealth and honour, Pleasures, and glories, seeing that Mardochæus the poore Iew, let him pass without doing him any reverence, (which Mardochæus did out of feare of offending God, knowing well Aman was a deadly enemie to God, and to the Iewes,) was soe vexed therwith, that hee assembled his wife, Children, and frinds, having told them of all his Glories and Familiarity with the King Assuerus, and how hee alone was inuited a long with the King, to Queen Hesters banquet, hee

said: and for all I have this pompe, magnificence and Glorie, I think I have nothing, as long as I see Mardochæus sitting before the Kings doore, and performing mee noe reverence (Even soe Ormond, having all Glory, and prosperity, yett thinks hee hath nothing, while the Catholick Bishops (that offended him not) doe not prostrate themselves at his feet, and submitt to his blindly transported Iudgment.) Then Zares Amans wife and his frinds answered him, saying, commaund a beame to be raised of sixty cubits high, and speak to the King on the morning, that Mardochæus may be hanged thereon, and soe thou shall goe Ioyfull and merily to the feast, but all went quite to the contrary, and to Amans expectation, and to the expectation of all his frinds; the Gibbet raised by Aman, for Mardochæus, was turned to Amans owne destruction.

That hee (as I said before) for his great ambition, accompanied with a revenging minde, can have but little ease or rest; The Prophet says, *Impius quasi mare servens, quod quiescere non potest* "The wicked man is like a swelling Sea, which cannot rest;*" there can be noe greater executioners or torments to the minde of man, then ambition, enuy, and anger, this made Horace say, *Invidia siculi non invenere tyranni tormentum majus.* The tyrants of Cicilie never found a greater torment then enuy.

Isa. cap 57.

Seneca tells us the ambitious man receiveth not soe much contentement by seeing many behinde him, as discontent by seeing any before him; there are many great men in this age sick of this disease, such as cannot know when they are well, and though great they be, will striue still to be greater, soe that they can at noe tyme be at ease or at quietness, much like that Italian*, who being well, must needs take phisick, and dyed thereof, vpon whose sepulchre this Epitaphe was engraved, I was well, and would be better, I tooke phisick, and came to the phereter.

Plutarch expresseth naturally this unquietness of ambitious mindes in Pyrrhus King of Epirot, who having greatly enlarged his Dominions with the conquest of the great Kingdom of Macedonia, began alsoe to designe with himselfe the conquest of Italy, and having Communicated his deliberation with his great couselour Cineas, hee demaunded his advice, whertoe Cineas answered, that hee greatly desired to know what hee meant to doe when hee had conquered Italy? Sir quoth Pyrrhus, the Kingdom of Cisilie is then neere at hand, and deserveth to be had in consideration, as well for the fertility, as for the riches, and power of the Iland. Well, quoth Cineas, and when you have gotten Cicily, what will you then doe? Quoth Pyrrhus, Africk is not farre of, where there are divers goodly Kingdoms, which partly by the fame of

my former conquests, and partly by the valour of my souldiers, may easily be subdued. I grant it quoth Cineas, but when all Africk is yours, what mean you then to doe? When Pyrrhus saw that hee urged him still with that question; then quoth Pyrrhus, thou and I will be merry, and make good cheer; whereunto Cineas replyed, if this shall be the end of your adventures and labours, what hindereth you from doeing the same now, will not your Kingdoms of Epyras and Macedonia suffice you to be merry, and make good cheere? and if you had Italy, Cicily, Africk, and all the world, could you and I be merrier than wee are, or make better cheere than wee doe? will you therfore venter your Kingdoms, Person, Life, Honour, and all you have to purchase that which you have already? Thus said wise Cineas to Pyrrhus, reprehending his Immoderate ambition, who knew not when he was well, neither yet what hee would have, seeing hee desired noe more then that which hee had alleready, which in the end cost him deare; for following his owne ambition, and unbriddled appetite, to amplify his Dominions; as hee gott much, soe he lost much being able to conserve nothing any tyme, and at length having entred the towne of Ayros by force, hee was killed with a brick batt throwne down by a woeman from the top of a house; heere you see the wretched end of Pyrrhus his ambition.

Had Ormond such a counsellour by him, as Cineas was, & heard unto him, hee had lickly been happier then he is at present, such a counsellour I mean as would say unto him intrepidly, when hee tooke the course of stripping honest gentlemen of theire estates; my Lord I would desire to know what you resolve to doe, when you have by hooke and crooke ingrossed the lands, and inheritances of Innocent persons, poore widowes and Orphans unto your selfe; when you have obtained all, is the thing you ayme at, only to make good cheere, and be merry? if this be your designe, you need not trouble yourselfe soe much, nor expose your conscience to danger, nor your honour to such an Ignominous shame and infamy, (which shall endure to all ages) in taking away that which is not your owne? farre better content your selfe as you are, and feast upon that great patrimony your Predecessors left, cannot that estate which maintained them honourably (without damaging any other) maintaine and content you? but I see this is an evill familiar, those exalted to the height of greatness and favour in the Princes eye have noe counsellours that will speak freely the truth, as worthy Cineas did to Pyrrhus; few are neere Kings and Princes, can say that which Seneca requires to be said by just upright men, *Loguimur quod Sentimus, et Sentimus quod Loguimur*, "this is a thing wanting in Court," *Homo qui dicat vesitatem*, which Seneca

excellently expressed to his frind, Lucilius, thus *Monstrabo tibi cuius rei impia Laborant magna fastigia, quod omnia possidentibus, desit unum Scilicet qui verum decit;* "They live not in courts and the houses of Kings that will severly speake, and sincerely the trueth," what man can without teares behold soe many great personages, even Christians in this age, that live, and doe farre wickeder things, then Gentils or Pagans have don, or does, which had more respect and regard to theire Idols (in whome they apprehended some dietie) then those to the true and liuing God.

CHAPTER XII.

If Ormonds attendance, and service upon the King in his banishment, met with sufficient recompence and reward.

This querie you may take to be something extravagant, such another as if one had doubted whether it be day, even when the sun shines, and is scorching of the earth, putting men into such heat and sweat, as they must of all necessity put of theire cloathes; however this querie is quickly resolved, by calculating the yearly

rents Ormond had before the warre, and conferring the same with this his present estate, in doeing of this the work is don, and your question resolved; what rent say you had hee Immediatly before the warre? 7000. pound sterling noe more? in as much, as that vast estate of his was engaged to men in long Leases, Morgaged, and incumbred with Annuitys; what then is his present rent and estate? neare vpon eighty thousand pound starling annuall rent (and I doubt whether any subject in Europe have the like estate, som say hee hath more,) but how coms it that a man, that came home naked and bare after soe many yeares toe and froe in the world, (as severall other noble men in poverty and need) came so suddainely by such vast acquisitions? This is quickly answered; all was made over to him by the kings grant, as for Example, Six Corporations, (which his Ancestours never had) all the estates of his house leased, soe that the leasors are constrained to begg, hee had alsoe conferred vpon him the estates and lands of many honest faithfull subjects; all this and more bestowed vpon him by his Majestyes free grant; now see you whether his service and attendance vpon his Majesty, be plentifully requited or noe? My Sentiment of Ormonds acquisitions I delivered in the case of Sir Robert Lynch as a bove, now whether the King hath duly and legally bestowed other mens estates vpon his Grace, is left to every mans thought,

to think what hee will; however I am of this opinion, that (all being well considered by his Majesty, and this portentous liberality to that noble man, well examined,) his Majesty will finde but little content or joy therin, nay to the contrary, his Royal hart will be in an ocean of unquietness, seeing soe many deserving families numberless widdowes, Innocents and orphans, deprived of theire propper right, forced both at home and abroad to unspeakable wants, consumed by hunger, vermin, and miseries, and all this, to raise up the greatness of one man's familie, that was great enough of it selfe; If the Law of God or nature will allow of soe many thousand Innocents to perish and be destroyd, by depriving them of theire rights and livelyhood, is a maxim that toucheth much his Royall wisdome, for it is written, that God will have a care of the widdowes and fatherless, and in due tyme will chastise and oppress the oppressors of those; thousands of Innocents are sacrificed in this our age, to increase the estate of one man, can Iustice suffer this? can the mercifull breast of a mercifull King endure to see soe many specktacles of woes and miseries without reliefe? will not God at long running looke downe vpon these vnlawfull proceedings? certainly hee will, and to the confusion of the possessors.

But Let us grant the parents of those Innocent creatures ran into a Rebellion, (as Ormond, Clarindon, and others falsly suggested to the King)

have the little babes, (not borne at that tyme) been rebells? What have they don against the Crowne? Must they all suffer and perish for theire Parents crimes? (crimes only imputed to them, but never proved;) God himselfe sayes, *Filius non portabit iniquitatem patriæ*, "The childe shall not beare the iniquity of his Father;" but Ormond says the contrary, let them suffer and perish for the errours of theire Parents, soe that I may be thereby both great and wealthy; *Iustitia Iusti* (sayes the Holy Ghost) *super eum, et impietas impij super eum*, "The Iustice of the Iust fall vpon him, and the Impiety of the Impious vpon him;" the quite contrary is in this case, for the Iust have not found Iustice, nor mercy, the Innocent children (of the supposed rebells) are punished as Impious, left naked and to noe mercy. Saint Ierome his saying is not regarded in this place, *Nec virtutes, nec vitia parentum liberis Imputentur*, "Let not the virtues, or vices of the parents be imposed to the Children;" there is a God above all, when hee comes to examine those open injustices, Clarindon Ormond and others and the rest (instruments of the ruine of soe many thousand honest families) will not appeare, all will be made more cleare to theire confusion; but wee must leave the Innocent to God, who though he is pleased to Chastise them with the Rod of his anger (out of his secret and just Iudgments, the which wee must adore) yet the cruelty of those afflicters, (who

plunged as in an ocean of Calamaties) will not escape his seveare sentence and Iustice. What a ridiculous conceipt is it, of some of Ormonds flatterers, who tell the World, Ormond waited on the King out of meer affection, and therby lost his estate and fortunes at home: truly noe man hath bine wiser (if it be wisdome to deuest and robb honest men of theire estates) then Ormond in his acquisitions, which as the world sees, are great, but the malediction of God doth follow things unjustly acquired, and likely the bread hee now eates dipped in the teares of widdowes, and blood of the Innocent doth not taste sweetly:

I could not heare of any had the fortune that Ormond had in the time of the Kings exile, hee was still near the King, knew all his Arcana, had the comfort and honour to suffer with his King, (a sufficient recompense for all his attendance) and at the same tyme his Lady (a wise woeman) was honoured and comforted by Crumwell; and her children much carressed by his children, soe gratious was this Lady in Crumwells tyme, and in his eyes, that shee obtained three thousand pound or more for her joynter per-annum; who more inward with the King then Ormond? who more respected by Crumwell then the Lady of Ormond? and shee well requited Crumwells kindness, to his relations, cheefly to his sonne Harry, upon the Kings restauration, who obtained upon her knees from the King (as we

have been informed) that Harry Crumwell might enjoy the estats given him in Ireland by his Father in the tyme of his Protectorship, among other lands hee had that of Mr. Sedgrave of Killeylan a good and ancient familie, which estate he sold to one Sir Patrick Moledy knight, who possesseth it to this day, and the relict of said Sedgraves Mistres Jane Nottingham (a good and vertuous Lady) lives very poorly and in a sad condition with her children, without joynter or relief; and soe my Lady Dutches of Ormonds solicitations for Harry Crumwell, weare for the childe of him that murthered the Kings Father and against a poor widow and her babes, a widow whose Father and Kindred were ever faithfull to the crowne, and were not these think ye Godly, and misterious prayers and intercessions.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the frugality, and laudable husbandry of the Ancient Renowned Heroes, did content it selfe, and have bin satisfyed with small rewards given them, for their rare services by the common wealth.

GREAT reason, that deserving men should be looked upon, and requited according to the service don to their country or Prince; this custome hath been exercised in the best, and most flourishing common wealths of Rome, Athens, Carthage, and Lacedimonia, who reflecting vpon the deserts of theire people, and services don the common wealth at home and a broad, did by statutes express eternize theire names, and families vnto posterity, as alsoe by gifts and rewards; And these (soe collated) munificencies, were by distinct names called, as some, by the name of Adorea, martial praise, another was called "Corona Aurea", a gold crowne, Navalis a sea fight crowne, soe Castrensis, and Obsidionalis, a field and siege crowne, &c., now and then they gave your Hostas Deauratas gilded speres, and

some times they gave certaine akers of ground and measures of corne, more or less as they deserved, and such measures were called Hemina, which in phisicall measure is not three gallons: heere it is to be noted how great Heroes, and champions anciently were recompenced: for theire extraordinary services don to the (common-wealth) with small presents, and, well contented were they with the same, soe great have been theire frugal husbandry, and parcemonie in all theire life, that hardly wee can give credit to what historians write of theire wonderfull moderation in their publicke expenses, of Pompes, feastings, and showes; Great men were sober in those ages. Titus Livius, tells us Quintus Cincinatus was carried from the plough, to the dignity of a dictator; which warre being ended, hee returned chearfully to the plough againe; hee relates alsoe how the Ambassadors of the Samnites found Curius Dentatus, another Dictator, making ready, and cleansing of rootes for his supper, and even at that tyme, hee says, there were noe more in all the Roman Armies of waiting men (such as wee call calones) but two: Marcus Anthonius, not hee (that fatall man to Cicero, and to the Common-wealth,) but a nother Chosen Consull of a great Armie design'd in to Spaigne, had but eight servants, soe Carbo in the same dignity placed, (as wee read) had but seven; what shall I say of Cato the senior, who in the same Imployment, power and commission

for Spaigne, had but three; however this Cato named the censor (though contented wisely with such a small retennue) was Captaine Generall in theire Armie, a famous oratour, and a prudent counselour reputed by the Common-wealth, (in the Common-wealth,) and by all Rome for his sober life, was called a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, a frugall housekeper, and a man (a great praise in those days) well skill'd in the plough.

Epaminondas a famous Captaine, Protectour, and flower of the Thebans, who fought soe many battaills valiantly, nevertheless it is written, hee had but one sute of Cloathes, which, when required reparation, hee was forced to keep house, till mended and brought unto him; This Epaminondas I speak of, dyed soe poore, as not soe much in his house could be had, as to pay his funeralls, which was performed by the Common-wealth.

What need I speak in this place of Phocion, Socrates, and Iphaltes, Miracles of nature, and wisest of Athens? This Phocion, who fought 26. battaills, victorious allways, and triumphant over his enimies, yet a greater dispiser of riches, honours, and titles, (as histories doe testify,) refused one hundred talents, sent unto him by Alexander the great as a Present, demaunding of those brought the Present, what was Alexanders meaning in sending to him alone, and only, that Present, they replyed, for as much as hee

takes you to be the only man of honour, and merit amongst the Athenians: to this hee answered briefly, why then let Alexander leave mee soe during my life, which is a thing I cannot be, if I receive and accept of his talents of gould; vpon the same Phocion, Alexander offered to bestow severall Citties, but hee answered the Messenger, goe, returne, and tell thy Master Alexander, that I took him to bee of soe noble a spiritt, as he would doe nothing that might render himselfe and mee in famous, which is like to follow if I accept of his gift, for hee will be esteemed a bryber, and I taken for a corrupt man, and traitour, to my country. in this place I could make mention of Cato Iunior, Glory of Rome, a man did hate to flatter any body, this Cato brauely opposed Pompeius the great in som things, and denyed him is daughter in Mariage, saying I will not give my Daughter in hostage to Pompeius, for feare that hee himselfe, (by that action) should be against the Common-wealth: yet after Iulius Cæsar became Tyrant, this Cato rancked himselfe on Pompeius his side, soe much was this Cato addicted to poverty, and all sort of hard suffrings, that it is written of him, and of Phocion, that they went a great part of the yeare bare foot, and bare headed.

These prophane examples of those Heroick Champions, I have brought heer expressly to the great confusion of our Christian dissolut great personages, that they may see how these

rare vertues shined, and were Imbraced by Pagans, which they abhor to exercise, or have seen in themselves, Frugality, Humility, honest and discret poverty, zeal to theire Country, contempt of wealth and honours, moderation in theire pomps, showes, and, feastings. These are the vertues, and the weapons with which those ancient Heroes kept theire common-wealth in peace and Concord, Glory, Wealth, and Prosperity; with these I say they have eternised theire fame to future ages, not with Pride, Ambition, Extortion, Emulation, Deceits, Vaine Assentations, Gluttonies, and the like vices familiare to Christian personages.

Certainly there is nothing procures in a Common Wealth sooner, Envy, & Discord, betwixt person and person, then to see som very rich, and others very poore, (equality among fellow subjects is a pretious pearle in a Common-wealth) for Commonly wealth puts men up to such a height of pride, as to contemne and dispise other beneath them, and they soe dispised, can not but beare enuy, and hatred to those dispises them. *Omne pomum habet suum vermem, veru autem diuitiarum superbia est*, every apple have its owne worme, the worme of wealth is pride; This age wee live in is mounted to the height of ambition and pride, wee are all going, or would faine goe beyond our reach, pride in our eyes, and pride in our thoughts, pride and ambition in all our actions, now a days forsooth

to set forth an Ambassadour, wee must have a whole legion of servants in theire retenue, as if his embassy could beare noe force otherwise unless the wealth of a Common-wealth must be exhausted to support those Extravagancies, Retenues, and needless traynes: wheras honest Cato the Consull (a greater man then they for dignity) contented himselfe with three servants.

The Historian Justinus gives us a rare example of this. After a peace had bene concluded between the Romans and King Pyrrhus, Cineas was sent by him to the Romans for better confirming that agreement. *Ad pacem confirmandam Cineas Roma cum ingentibus a Pyrrhus donis missus neminem, cuius domus muneribus pateret, invenit.* That is "For better confirming a peace with the Romans Cineas being sent to Rome with great presents found noe house open to receive those guifts." O rare contempt of gould and guifts in Rome that in soe vast a citty noe house was found, would receive guifts, noe doore open to Cineas with his gould, alas there is noe such citty now in *rerum natura:* it was Impossible such a citty as Rome was then could be taken or betrayed. We have in England a rare example of integrity in Sir Thomas More Chancellor of that kingdom, a Lady presented him a cupp of gold, a while after a sentence was given for her in a just cause. Sir Thomas received the same; and much commended the workmanship and value thereof, and then had

it filled with Spanish wine, and drank to the Lady, saying, Madam you gave mee a cupp of gold fill'd with good wine and hee dismiss'd her. O when shall England see again such a Chancellor! certainly Chancellor Hyde was not such a man.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Rewards given by the Common-wealth of Rome unto two noble Romans Horatius Cocles and Caius Musius for theire rare services don to theire country.

THE right order is to begin with the exployts of the two noble Romans, and after to come unto the rewards and remunerations given them for theire stupendious service; Titus Livius the fluentest of historians, *Libro Secundo Romanæ Historiæ* setts forth these gallant mens services in this nature; having Porsena King of Etrurians beseiged Rome (saith Livius) *non unquam alias ante talis terror Senatum invasit, adeo valida tum clusina erat, magumque Porsena nomen, nec hostes modo timebut sed suos met cives, ne Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet;* "Att noe tyme

have such feare ceased the Senat, soe strong a thing then Clusina was, and the great name of Porsena, which did not only feare the enemies but even their owne cittizens, for apprehention the people of Rome strucken with feare of king's againe received into the Citty, and would accept of a peace with slavery."

Porsena made warre with the Romans, to have proud Tarquin theire king admitted once againe, whome the same people banished a way with all that race, for the foul rape of chast Lucretie and other Tyrannies, at this tyme there was a woodden bridg that crossed over the River Tyber supported by many pyles fastened in the ground, through this bridge Porsena's men thought it easy to make theire way into the citty, Horatius Cocles a noble Roman, (a man worthy of perpetual prayses) had the keeping of this bridg, when he saw all his men fall back and retyre, hee obtested and prayed them by all that is, or can be deare to the Gods Immortall, and by the sacred liberty they were fighting for, to stick to him, and defend the bridge, otherwise that the enemies would quickly master the bridge, and disperss themselves in the capitale, and hart of Rome, insulting over the Circumscript Fathers, killing and putting all to the sword, men women and children, hee Further desired and would have them stay, at least to cast and breake downe the bridge by all possible meanes, and that hee himselfe in the meane

tyme would putt a stopp to the Enemies, rushing in upon them; this would not doe, they must away, two only of the number remaining by him; "*Duos tamen* (saith Livius) *cum eo pudor tenuit, ambos claros genere factisque S. P. Lacrium, ac, T. Hermantium.* The rest at length by great entreaty fell upon breaking the bridge, and while they were in that work, he pray'd those two worthy men to goe back unto theire Fellows, and hee alone stood looking vpon the Etrurians with flaming eyes, daring them to com, and try battail with him, upbraiding them with the name of slaves to Tyrants, that came to inuade the Roman liberty; the Army stood amazed, beholding this unspeakable wonder, to see one man daring a whole Army, having made a loud cry, they let fly theire darts at him, the which this gallant Roman receiued undaunted with his shield, drawing neare they endevoured to fling him downe from the Bridge, but the Romans having brooken downe the Bridge by this tyme, gave great outcryes of joy; at this Horace being armed leapt into the river, (Saying) *Tiberine pater, te Sancte precor hæc arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias*, notwithstanding the store of darts they flung at him in the river, hee gott a way safe, Swimming over to his owne people, who was very Ioyfully receiued: The Historian concludes, *Rem ausus est plus famæ habituram, ad posteros quam fidei;* "Hee attempted that a thing is to have more fame by posterity,

then Creditt;" In the mean tyme Porsena notwithstanding that this attempt of the Bridge had noe success, kept his close siege to the Citty, in manner that they were in evident danger to be at long running, overcome by his Army; Heer Succeeded a noble action, a gallant man Caius Mutius by name appeared to free the Citty from this Feare, a resolute young Gentleman; fervent in afection to his Country, as Cochles was, Cajus Mutius his designe was to kill Porsena, the great enemy of Rome; resolving in his minde this great enterprise, hee came to the Senate and said, *Transire tiberim patres, & intrare si possim, castra Hostium volo, non præda nec populationum invicem ultor, majus si dij Iuvant in animo est Facinus;* "Fathers conscript, my resolution is to pass over Tiber, and soe rush into the enemies Camp, not to plunder, or to doe any devastation, For, if the Gods will but help mee, I have a greater matter in my minde;" Of these expressions the Senatours approved much, hee departed, and soon came into theire Campe, having a knife or dagger under his coat to kill Porsena, and having approached the place the King was, it fell out, that it was a pay-dey with the Souldiers, drawing neare hee killed a Commissioner or Secretary neare the King, thinking him to be the King, and soe gott a way, making place for himselfe with his sworde brandishing before him, till at last overlaid by the multitude, hee was taken, and brought

before the King, being questioned who hee was, and from whence hee came, hee answered more like unto a man to be feared, then a man in feare; saying to the King, *Romanus sum ciuis, C. musium vocant, hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad cædem, et facere, et pati fortia Romanum est;* "A Cittizen of Rome I am, by name *C. mucius*, I thought as an enemy, to Kill an enemy, neither is my hart backwarder to dye, then it hath bine forward to kill you, to doe, and suffer strong things is the part of a Roman." At which undaunted Expressions the King amaized and troubled, commaunded to inuiron him round about with fyre, but the Couragious young man putting his right hand in the fyre, and there holding it, as not feeling the fyre, (said generously,) *En tibi! ut Sentias quam vile corpus sit ijs, qui magnam Gloriam vident;* "Behold! that you may know how vile is the body to those who sees great glory;" The King astonished at the hand burning without any regard of payne, leap't out of his chaire and commaunded the young man to be removed from the Altar, and then said to him these Kingly words, *Tu vero abi in te majus, quam in me hostilia ausus, juberem mactæ virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret, nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum, inviolatumque dimitto: tum Musius, quasi remunerans meritum; quandoquidem inquit est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod*

minis nequisti. Trecenti conjuravimus principes Inventutis Romana, ut in te hac via grassaremur, mea prima sors fuit, cæteri, ut cuique ceciderit, primo, quo ad te opportunum fortuna dederit; suo quisque tempore aderunt, " Be you gon, more Cruel to your selfe then to mee, I would wish you to be of good courage, if that vertue had been for my Country, by the Law of warre, I now dismiss you untouched, unviolated," to whome Mutius said, as if to recompence the favour don, in as much as you regard vallour, and vertue, you gett that from mee by the benefitt you doe, which you could not by threats. 300 Of the Chiefest youths of Rome, wee have conspired to invade you in this nature, It fell out I should be the first, the rest each one in his owne turne, as it will fall out will performe theire duty. Matuis being sent to the Romans (after this was called Scœvola, for the burnings and woundings of his right hand) Porsenna seeing his life was saved by chance that time, and that there were as yet 200, and ninty-nine more of the Primest of Roman youth designed to the same expedition; of his owne accord hee offered the Romans a-peace, and vpon honourable conditions one of them being (that which they desired above all) that hee would have noe more to doe with Tarquin, or his people; *Alio* (said the King) *Hinc seu bello opus est, seu quiete exilio querant locum, nequid meam vobiscum pacem destineat, dictis facta meliora adjecit.*

Could there be more or nobler services don for a mans country, then these Horatius Cochles and C. Mutius attempted? it is not easy to be desided, which of these two showed greatest vallour and affection to Rome; Cochles hee alone fought a whole Army and freed the Senate, the people from Massacres, and Rome from being taken; Mutius terrifyed King Porsenna, contemned the force of fyre and removed the siege by his strange example of fortitude vpon most honourable conditions for the Romans; Oh two Glorious Champions of Rome! O Immortal Heroes! O Patriots flaming with charity and affection! when shall we finde in this age such unspeakable services? Now as to the rewards given them.

What rewards think you had Horace, and Scœvola given them: as to Horace (as Livius says *Grata erga tantam virtutem Civitas fuit, statua in comittis posita:* "The Citty was kinde and gratfull towards such meritts and vertues, then was by order an image errected in the Senate house for him;" I must confess that was honourably don, but what more? What other recompence and remuneration have they given? *Agri quantum vno die Circumaravit datum*, "As much ground as hee could in one day plough;" what have they lotted for Mutius? *Patres* (sayd Livius) *Caio Mutio virtutis causa, trans tiberem agrum dono dedere;* "to Mutius the senate for his rare virtues hath given beyond the River Tiber a platt of ground as a gift, *Qui postea Mutia prata*

appellata," which afterwards was called by the name of the Mutian Green; Heere you may see the recompence given to these incomparable men was but a few akers of ground, with which theire sobriety remained satisfied, having don all they did out of affection to their country, not for selfe end or hope of remuneration.

Having spoken of the rewards given by Rome to Horatius Cochles, and to Mutius for unparalleld services and attending upon the King in time of his exile; I dare say, in the first place, there is none of the adorers of Ormonds vertues, (not one) will presume to say, that the greatest of all his services hee did the King, came; it could com neare, those of the foresaid Romans; yet if wee compare both their remunerations to gether, theires will appeare like a graine of sand, compared with Mons Olympus, as for the lands given him, hundred thousand of akers, is the meanest gift of all; but what doe I speake of Ormond, Lord of a most ancient family of Earles of above 300 years. (The first Earle of that family Iohn Butler by name, was created in the Raigne of Edward the third, anno. 1328.) When George Lane his recompences are mounted to an vnreasonable measure, a man inferior to thousands, both for his birth and service to the King, Ormond's secretary now Sir George Lane? this Lane, by the King's grant of other mens estates enjoys many thousand akers of ground, far more than Cochles, or Mutius, the deliverers of

Rome had, this new knight had confered upon him the estates of two worshipfull esquires that of Mr. Thomas Wading of Waterford, and that of Mr. Philip Hore of Kilshalchan; the seate of Kilbarry neare Waterford, hee hath from the former, a delicious place, with the whole estate vpon a thousand pound a yeare, and Kilshalcon within seven miles of Dublin, a faire seat with the livings of eight hundred pound yearly, these gentlemens children (which were many in number) by this munificencie, are to shift for themselves in great misery, the Lord knowes in what condition they are in, and this befalls them and several others, that George Lane should be gratifyed (an unknowne man). For writing for Ormond, hee has conferred vpon him, other estates, in all neare vpon foure thousand pound annuall rent (this wee are informed) brave rewards for a Secretary; I dare confidently say stout and valiant Collonells, Officers, and Gentlemen of quality, which firmly adhered to the King, Fought stoutly for him, and lost both life in the bed of honour, and estates in his service, have not, nor any of theires, in recompence received the least provision, reward, or comfort: in this I may say that George Lane, his penn hath been more Fortunate and profitable to him, then these noble gentlemens swords have been unto them: a sad incourragement, and cold satisfaction to worthy Royalists to see this little Lane and such like night-sprung-musheroms to have suckt the

Fattness of the earth from farre better plants then themselves, and perhaps the hands of as low men as themselves, will be ready to pluck them up root and branch, when the season shall serue, to cleare the Land of such weeds; by what meanes this will com to pass I am quite Ignorant, but I think the Iustice of God will make way for it, and take, not only from George Lane, and men of that ranck, but even from Ormond, and the greatest of them all, the conferred estates of honest men, for seldom the blessing of God doth accompany unjust plunderers and robbers. And it is the opinion of severall true harted subjects to his Majesty, that things are not like to prosper with himselfe, untill this be don.

But I heare sum body say, Ormond hath don the King great service, though he hath not preserved the Monarchie of Brittaine, as Cochles and Mutius did that of Rome, and that his affection to King and Country have been as great as theires to the Senat, and common wealth of Rome, occation being only wanting: as For his affection to King and Crowne, I beleeve hee had as much as another noble man, (but to his Country, where hee hath his estate and lands hee had none at all.) If affection to the King can draw rewards, and Remunerations, there be thousands loved the King, and the intrest of the Crowne of England as much as Ormond ever did, and appeared undoubtedly in all occations, against the

Kings enemys, nevertheless thousands of them never had an Aker of ground, nor a Cottage to shelter themselves in, in frosty weather, in recompensation of such affection: therfore I doe heire conclude that Ormond was happily Fortunate in his affections to the King, and Crowne, and others were not, having obtained those Extraordinary rewards from his Royall Majesty, which in the insuing Chapter I doe resolve more amply to discover, and speak of.

CHAPTER XV.

The Remunerations the Duke of Ormond had from the King after his Restauration.

These remunerations will bee found soe great, that you must needs confess Ormond was not Loyall gratis; neither doe I in any way doubt but there bee som Bassa's of the great Turck, and some of the chiefest of them would come and serve our King, and serve him Loyally for soe incredible a recompence as Ormond had; Let us now speak of the quantity and quality thereof according to the best notice wee have received. Wee have said above his Annuall rents before the warre was but seven thousand pound starling (his ancient estate being then incumbred with

Annuitys, and Leases, which otherwise was worth forty thousand pound starling per annum) and at present it is vpon Eighty thousand, now the first part of his new great revennues is the Kings grant of all those lands of his owne estate which were leased, and morgaged; the rest were grants of other mens Estates, and other gifts of his Majesty: for auoyding the trouble of searching after all his particulare gettings, (many there are without doubt unknowne to mee(I will here put downe certaine Quæres in number 29. Out of which, hee, that will, may take notice of these Immense recompences given him.

Quæries touching the Present Condition of his Majesties Kingdom of Ireland.

1. Whether it be not demonstrable by search made into the Records of his Majestys Auditor General of Ireland, that had his Majestys Revenue of that Kingdome been well managed, there had been money enough to answer the necessary Charge of that Kingdome?

2. Whether upon search made of his Majestys Exchequer in England, there doth not appear upward of two hundred thousand pounds sent out of England into Ireland since the Duke of Ormonds last Government there?

3. Whether there doth not appear that there were twenty-four subsidies amounting to three

hundred and sixty thousand pounds Assessed by the late Parlament of Ireland?

4. Whether there was not fifty thousand pounds advanced out of the soldiers and Adventurers rents?

5. Whether the aforesaid summs thus extraordinarily raised, do not amount to above six hundred thousand pounds?

6. Whether the aforesaid extraordinary summs would not discharge near Four Years of his Majesties Establishment both in the Civil and Martial List, Indepeudently of the Revenue of that Kingdom?

7. Though the aforesaid summs extraordinarily raised would have paid near Four Years Establishment, yet whether the Martial and Civil Lists be not a Year and half in arrear?

8. Whether his Majestyes Ordinary, certain and casual Revenue, which if well managed, might have fully paid his Majesties necessary Charge, whether vpon the aforesaid Principles it is not demonstrable, that the said revenue hath not discharged more than one year and a halfs Establishment in six years time?

9. Whether it be not demonstrable then, that there hath been more than Four years and a half Revenue embessed in six years time: and whether the chief Governor be not more Faulty in this great miscarriag; then the Earle of Anglesy.

Quæres in Relation to the Lord Duke of Ormond.

1. Whether by sale of offices, as Lord Steward and receits out of his Majesties Exchequer of England, the Lord Duke of Ormond hath not raised upwards of 30000£?

2. Whether he did not receive by one Act of Parliament of Ireland as a gift, 30000£?

3. Whether it doth not appear by the Records of his Majesties Treasurie in Ireland, that his Grace did receive 12000£. Before his being last Leutenant?

4. Whether he did not receive 12000£ per annum as Lord Leutenant, which was a Moyetie more than any Lord Leutenant received; and that Moyetie amounts in six years to 36000£?

5. Whether it doth not appear that his Grace hath released by the Act of Settlement 60000£: due to honest men and good subjects, vpon his estate before the rebellion?

6. Whether his Grace hath not received 30000£ out of Soldiers and Adventurers lands, which he invaded and entered upon without any Title, as appears by the Records of the court of claymes in Ireland which hath decreed the Lands from him?

7. Whether by the Act of Explanation he hath not got the Citty of Kilkenny, and six other corporat Townes, together with their Lands and

Liberties, valued by himselfe and his friends of the Councell but at 60000£. though they are well worth 12000£?

8. Whether he did not obtain by special warrant from his Majestie 72000£ out of the Soldiers and Adventurers half year Revenue?

9. Whether there is not confirmed to him 50000£ more by the Explanatory Act, for waving a grant which he got by the Act of Settlement?

10. Whether he had not got as many Gentlemens estates, upon the pretence of enjoying all Lands that he could prove (by witnesses) to have paid him any chiefrey, as is worth at least 150000£ and whether also, he hath not obtained that for the said Lands, no quitt Rent be paid to the King, which grant at 3d. an acre per annum amounts to 26000£?

11. Whether he hath not arbitrarily layd vpon the inhabitants of the City of Dublin 8000£ per annum, amounting (for these six years past of his Government) to 48000£?

12. Whether he hath not against the Fundamental Laws and Magna Charta, inclosed divers parcells of Land belonging to the Kings good subjects without their consent, to the value of 1500£ per annum at the very gates of Dublin, to the great prejudice of that citty and the country; the profit of which Land and Park, he hath bestowed upon the Lord of Dungannon and Colonel Cook?

13. Whether it be credible, that his Grace is zealous for the English and Protestant interest, seeing it is not possible for the Soldiers and Adventurers to be reprized according to his Majesties gracious Declaration, when his Grace hath swallowed up in gifts and grants the best part of the Stock of Reprizalls, and hath made or permitted such Embeslements of his Majesties revenue, and applyed the Royal authority, wholly to gain vast advantages to himself, and whether by preferring his own private gains and grants, before the Publique good and the Iust right of the Adventurers and Soldiers, he hath not unsettled the Kingdom of Ireland, and unsatisfied the two main interests of Protestants (the Soldiers and Adventurers) to such a degree, that it it is to be feared, it will be a continual charge to England, to keep to the rules of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation so destroyed and desperate a people: and whether all this expence, trouble and danger, for preserving the Duke of Ormond and his Family (that it is as much Irish as any can be) in other mens Inheritances, and Rights, be the interest of England or agreable to the Maxims of sound Policy or of Christian piety?

14. Whether such of his Majesties Protestant Subjects of Ireland, as have escaped the Duke of Ormonds Proviso have not Iust grounds to fear that if the same Duke of Ormond should continue in his Gouverment, and press, as now

he doth, the Payment of 100000 l. they will not be in a condition to live, or to pay his Majesties quit Rents, and the necessary charges of the Kingdom?

15. Whether after the Prohibition of transporting Cattle, and so much oppression, by the Lord Lieutenat and his Creatures, it be possible For his Majesties empoverished Subjects of Ireland, to pay the 300000 l. assessed by the Explanatory Act, whereof the First 100000 l. is for his Grace?

16. Whether his Grace had not a Great regard For his Majesties service, when he lately pressed the King and Councel to call a Parliament in Ireland, For imposing new Taxes vpon that miserable people, and For confirming all his own new acquisitions, whereby the Soldiers, Adventurers and Nominees are defrauded of his Majesties intended Favours, and the English interest utterly destroyed?

17. Whether the Duke of Ormonds gifts and grandis amount not unto 630000 l. and whether this Summe would not have satisfied all the English interest of Ireland, and have settled the Protestants an well meriting Natives of that Kingdome in peace; whereas now his Majesty and all Christendom is troubled with their Clamours against the breach of Publique Faith; and all this stirr, destruction of the people, and discredit of the Government, to humour one particular man, whose merit is not so extraordi-

nary, as his management hath been vnsuccesful.

18. Whether not only some of the Nobility of Ireland but very many of the Nobility, Knights and Gentry of England have not lost greater revenues, and richer moveables for being Cavaliers, then the Duke of Ormond, whose Estate was much incumbered, and his rents before the rebellion exceeding not 7000 l. per Annum, and during the Warr, got more by his Government of Ireland, and giving up Dublin, then he could if he were in possession of his Estate?

19. Whether such as endeavoured to conceale these miscarriages and miseries of the Kingdom of Ireland From his Majesties and the Parliaments knowledg, and yet strive to have the Duke of Ormonds distructive Government continue, deserve not to be questioned by the Parlament, as betrayers of the Publique good, and of the Lawes and Liberties of England?

20. Whether it be fit, that the Government of Ireland should continue so long in one person, as it hath in the Duke of Ormond, though he were not an Irish man, and all his relations were not Papists, and very great Enemies of the English and Protestant interest?

What man can apprehend or read these incredible gettings, and recompenses (given Ormond) without amaizment? By the nine first Quæries you see his grace is as yet countable for many thousands, of thousands of the two hundred thousand pound, sent out of England into Ire-

land, since his last government there; and of the three hundred and sixty thousand pounds assessed by the Parlament of Ireland; and fifty thousand pound advanced out of the Soldiers and Adventerours Rents: and that notwithstanding those vast Summs, the Marshall, and Civil listes were a yeare and halfe in arrears; Let his Majesty call him to question, or Forgive him, both is in his Royall breast to doe; in the 20. Quæries in relation to the Lord Duke of Ormond himselfe, you will finde that hee received in all, as in gifts, and grants, that amounted to six hundred and sixty thousand pound starling: if this wonderful and strange masse of treasures be not sufficent Recompence and reward, Let the reader judge; For this amounts (according to Marchants rating a Tunn of gould) to sixty three tunns of gould; one Tunn of gould only makes a great noyse, and surely is a vast somm of monys; what then shall we say of sixty three Tunns? we finde in the Chronicles of England that thirty thousand markes, or Forty thousand, to have been a Queens Dote in Marriage, Elleoner Daughter to King Edward the second, married to the Earle of Gelders. (after made Duke) had but fifteen thousand pound portion, Queen Isabell Dowager to said Edward the second and mother to Edward the third (most Glorious of English Kings daughter and Heire to Philip the Faire of France) had allowed her by her son but a thousand pound joynter a yeare, several

such passages wee may finde in the Cronicles of England, and others; yet the Duke of Ormond, as is to be seen in the 12. Quærie of those in Relation to Ormond, granted the profits of a rent of one thousand five hundred pounds a yeare (the parke hee hath neare to the Gates of Dublin,) to the Lord of, Dungannon, and to Colonel Cooke a Kingly Liberality.

If Father Wailsh or any other will say, that these Quæries are Idle, Frivolous, needless, and of noe regard, I would aske of the same, and know whether matters of Fact, and Propositiones *sensu notæ* (as are the Estates and lands of other men, and the Corporations now actually in Ormonds possession, things that cannot be hidden from the Eyes of men) are Idle, needless, and Frivolous dreames and Fables? noe, but Foule and unhandsomethings against justice, honour, trust committed unto him, and Goverment of that Kingdome of Ireland, conferred by his Majesty upon Ormond.

If his grace or any for him, can answer the sayd Quæries, why is hee, or they soe long mute and silent? they strick home to the quick, they render his integrity suspected, they wound his Fame and honour; certainly if there were any way to answer them, and to prove them False, Father Wailsh had long before now spoken Loudly to the world; If Ormonds integrity and vertues be Calumniated by these Quæries; I wonder there is nothing said in his

vindication; none appears for him; but what? in a matter that cannot be defended, it is but wisdom to be silent; the whole Country knowes, that Father Wailsh, of all men is most concerned to appeare for Ormond, and vindicate his integrity the best hee can, having in his several writings described him for a vertuous, upright, just, judicous, and most rare statesman, now is the tyme good Friar to prove this, you see to what puzle hee is brought vnto, by these Quæries? you see how guilty he is on all sides? stretch him now your hand if you can, and bring him of clearly and unspottedly from all these blemishes, that staynes his person soe deeply, now in the tyme, I say, to prove him to the world, what you gave in paper of him, and make us all sensible that hee is deservning of those Epitihites, you are pleased to confere upon him, in the little book called the "Irish colours Foulded," you have put downe a Faire method, and good documents I must confess, for finding of Ormond in the charge of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when you bid him by all meanes beware of the man of sin (meaning Orrery) who would have his grace buoy up our interest wholy, that is the stronger, and more prevalent of Orrery and his complices; and sink utterly the other interest; that of the Catholicks, against all devine and humaine Lawes; many rediculous things of this nature hath this Fryar said about his Ormond, and this was one: but Ormond con-

trary to his desire and Counsell buoyed up Orrery's interest, and sunk the Interest of the innocent party, because it was the weakest; For which hee had a notable share of the grants, and estates hee now enjoyeth.

I see good Father you are very unfortunate in your conceipts of Ormond; who grants nothing of these things you demanded; I have a mind to produce in this place, other lynes of this Fryars (unto Ormoud) out of the same Foulded Colours; My Lord (Quoth hee) "I shall minde your Grace of what you know your selfe allready, that you shall behould under your Government a very great number of simple poore Innocents and most afflicted creatures, if any such be in the world, and that you think that God hath Principally created you, and hithertoe preserved you amidst soe many dangers, and now at last inspires our gratious King to send you for them, and therefore that your greatest care must be to open to them your breast with an amorous compassion, extend to them the bowels of your Charity, streatch to them affectionatly your helpfull hands, take theire requests, lend eare to theire cryes, and cause theire affaires to be speedily dispatched, not drawing them along in delays, which may devour them, strengthen your Arme against those that oppressed them, redeem the prey out of the lyons throate, and the Harpi's talons. By these expressions one would have thought Ormond to be a man, like to doe

great things, but here wee have much smooke, and noe fyre, faire blossoms, and noe Fruite, excellent documents given, and yet nothing done; take the paynes Father to goe up and downe Ireland, and heare afflicted Innocent people, and make a list) of those, to whome Ormond in tyme of his Government "Opened his hart with an amorous compassion, to whome hee did extend the bowells of his charity, to whome hee did streatch out his helpfull hands, those whom hee preserved out of the Lyons throat, or the Harpies Talon." You will com to short of your vaticinations, and hopes, nothing like this, but rather hee was the Lyon prey'd on them, and did noe Iustice to the Orphans as you desired, Nor wipe away the teares of a forelorne widow, hee steeped not in oyle the yoake of a people, which lived on gale and wormwood, and whoe sighed under unsupportable necessityes, Hee hath don nothing in his Goverment for the ease of that people, but along with Orrery and the rest pild, and pul'd them of all: truly good Father you seem to mee a man much inchanted, and indeed to be in a state of blyndness as to your understanding, that Harpaste was in her corporall sight, of whome Seneca, Epist: *quinquagessima ad lucilium* writes in this forme, *Harpastem uxoris mea fatuam scis hereditarium donum in domo mea, remansisse, hæc fatua subito desijt videre, incredibilem tibi narro rem, sed veram, nescit esse se cœcam, subinde padagogam suam rogat*

ut migret, ait domum tenebrosam esse; "Harpastes, you know, the changling of my wife is a Hereditary legacy in my house, this changling suddainly lost her sight, I tell you an incredible thing, but true; shee doth not beleeve that shee is blinde, now and then shee desires of her guide to remoue from thence, shee says the house is darke and obscure."

I am much of opinion Father Walsh, that this is your condition, in relation to what you say, or write of Ormonds affaires, and person; and soe I take my leave in this place of both, leaving you in your manyfold blindnesse in as much, as you will not see; and leaving your Ormond to the Fruition of these vast recompences, or as rather I should say, Robberys of poore orphans and widowes, which will have noe good end; soe much be said of his recompences, received, and rewards; in the next Chapter I shall give a distinct, and the briefest accompt I can of the manifest Iniurys hee hath don to his Country, and Countrimen.

CHAPTER XVI.

A Relation of some particular Iniuries the Duke of Ormond hath don his Countrymen.

His subuerting our union with Vlyssean practizes.

Not withstanding all the trust and confidence the generality of that people placed in Ormond, both great and small, yet little affection did hee show to his country, or Countrymen; the first Injury and stratagemme have bine to worke a diuition amongst them, hee was the man let fall the venemous apple of discord in the middle of that vnited body, theire vnion, (the basis of all prosperity) continuing, noe power, noe enemy was able to prevaile against them, this union was our onlyest bulwark, and would prove (if not subuerted,) Formidable to our Enemys at home, and a broad: that Commonwealth doth prosper, whose Cittizens are of one accord; *Concordia res paruæ crescunt, discordia res magnæ dilabuntur.* Ormond his chief Imagination hath bin to take away this vnion, this life of our confederacie; what people, common-wealth, or nation more knitt in mutuall Charity,) at the first beginning of the warre) then wee? The Bishops,

Clergie, Noblemen, Gentry, townes and Cittys, and the common people looked all one way, all possessed with the same flame of Religious zeal to preserve, and recover our libertys, Country; and religion, all were *Cor unum, et anima vna*, whilst Parsons, and Burlace did gouerne in Dublin, and soe had wee still continued if Ormond had not been chosen Lord Lieutenant; by whose influence upon the people all was lost, subverted, and supplanted.

If you demand how could Ormond destroy this vnion, and would his relations, even and dearest frinds, which tooke the oath of association, becom perjurious and perfidious for Ormonds sake? Would they forsake the sacred confederacy, and the best quarel in the world for his respect? I doe not meane to say, this affected him most were, perfidious and perjurious to this country, yea I hold his relations and friends to have been good Catholicks, how then say you could Ormond debauch them from theyre union and confederacie? his Excellencie, you must understand, had a great number of his relations among us, and many more persons of good quality, that had nothing to do with him, held him for a man of great integritie and affection to his countrie, and took him for a man of virtue, justice, and sound judgment, a man that had power to doe us good, and a good willingness thereunto, and hoped that he would represent unto the king our oppressions and burdens under cruel statesmen,

that destroyed and enslaved the subjects by their sleights and cunning artifices, and in fine that he would prove the deliverer of this conceipt, which proved but a dreame; conferred all mens affections vpon him, receaving and embracing all the reasons, and such sentiments as he pleased to infuse unto them, and ordered all theyre course (in all wisdom, as they thought) by his ways and dictamen, by this meanes were undermined our union, and our guard destroyed, Ormond's persuasions in Court and countie, his reasons were esteemed the best and wisest; his friends and Faction cry Ormond is a wise man, he loves our interest, understands our cause rightly; this publicke confidence well knowne, hath been no small meanes for him to deceave his Friends, and they deceaved the Generalitie, possessing them with such and such imaginations, till at last we grew in good earnest could in our proceedings; dissentions sprung up, and our union (the life, and strength of our countrie) dissolved and broaken, desolation and destruction run over all places, and we then began to disagree in our consultations and debates about the publick; jalousies invaded our assemblies, difference rose between such and such Families, between noble men Gentrie, and even amoung the Bishops and cleargy, some speaking high of the British interest, others of the interest of religion, and countrie: in the concusion we come to be *regnum in re divisum:* in the meane time Ormond,

who acted his part so idly, said to his counsel, and complices, *Devisum est cor Catholicorum*, *Jam interribunt* myworke is done, they are broken, they are at variance one with another, they prosper no more, That you may more plainly see the influence this great man had over the confederate Catholicks in the supreme counsel, who gouverned all (consisting of 12) you may know he had usually six of that number, for his trusty friends, the first was Richard Lord Viscount Mongaret (at the beginning of the warr, and for a great while President of the Counsel) this Lord was Brother to Ormond's grandmother, the second was donough Lord Viscount Musgrue (after Earle of Clancartie) who married Ormond's eldest sister, Mr. Richard Bealing's secretarie to the counsel and a member thereof, married to said Viscount Mountgaret's Daughter, Mr. Garat Fenel Doctor physick, intimeat domestick counselour to Ormond for some yeares, Mr. Patrick Darcy a Famous lawyer, counsells in law to the house Ormond. Mr. Gefferry Browne a sound and good lawyer, and Sir Lucas Dillon Knighte an able personage, both much addicted to Ormond's wayes esteeming them the best: as for the Lord of Mountgaret, he was a plain simple man, but the other five were substantial Peeces as the land could afford, Ormond was theire delight darling, and joy, and though they had witt sufficient to understand his ways, and ponder his evill designes, this they have not don,

but rather gave him full scope to worke what hee pleas'd, out of the fore-spoken confidence placed in him; by this meanes these wise-men were deceived, deluded and inueagled away, and wee with them; our repentance is to late, and without remedy, and wee finde our error Fatall and irrecoverable, and wee have lived to see Ormond close with our deadly enemys, and himselfe the greatest enemy of them all. *Sed sero Sapiunt phriges.*

This Lethean cupp ministered by Ormond unto us, the confederates, stupifyed out wit soe much, as wee could neither understand nor perceive one another, wee became much like to the confusion of Babell, when one sought for stone, the other gave him sand, and when sand, hee brought him stones,

But the first stepp to our confusion was treaties of cessations, by those conferrences hee deceived our people, who went still vpon the opinion of his affection, he spunn us out with new devices, and delays, and in the Intrim wee omitted the opertunity of doeing service, wayting dayly for apeace, for Ormond had brought us to that fools paradice, as we neglected our owne preservation; great matters hee promised to our committie of treaty, a good peace, the which when wee had, was worth nothing, as formerly said, where I advertised you how the Committie of treaty failed to performe the instructions given them, and to conclude noe peace without insisting on

them, but cleare sighted men, that trusted not in Ormond as those men did, found those articles to be a plaistered bussiness, as a boue said. If Ormond had power from the King to grant better Articles, then the thirty Articles; will not your understanding be convinced, that hee playd fouly with the confederate Catholicks, and that his intention was not frindly nor honest, and that his only designe hath bine to deceive us? his Majesty in a letter to Ormond december the fiftienth 1644. Oxford, hath these words.

" Ormond.

"I am sorry to finde from Colonell Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find soe good and speedy remedie as the peace of Irland, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affaires heere, wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doeing of which, I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instructions and power" &c. Some what lower downe he hath thes Words, "and to show this is more then words, I doe hierby promise them, and command you to see it don, that the penal statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution" &c. and concluds the letter thus, "soe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Irland and my necessary supplie from thence, as I wrot you in my last privat letter, I rest." Of an other letter to the Marques of Ormond, Feb: 1644. Oxford are these

words. "And now again I can not but mention vnto you the necessitie of hastning of the Irish peace, for which I hope: you are allredy sufficiently furnished from me of materialls; but in case peace cannot be had vpon those tearmes you must not by any meanes fall to a new rupture with them but continue the cessation, according to a postscript in a letter by Iack Barrys, a coppie of which dispatch I. Heere with send you, soe I rest."

POSTSCRIPT.

"In case vpon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, vpon powers I have alredy given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seeke to renew the cessation for a yeare, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it noe cheaper) to joyne with them against the Scot and Insiquin" &c. Those Letters are to be seen in the Kings book stiled *Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ.* By thes lines you see how clearly his Majestie insisted vpon a peace with the Irish, and fayled not to that effect to send Ormond materials sufficient to satisfie the Irish Catholicks, having heard theyr complaints and theyr reasonable articles, for they demanded no other then the libertie of theyr religion, benefit of theyr estates and priviledges, yet Ormond in his peace of 30. Articles granted not thes things, nor was

it in his thought to joyne with us against the Scot and Insiquin the Kings professed enemies, who owned for theyr master the vsurping power, and parlement of England, and there were reports grounded vpon very good presumptions, that he sent some of his forces to asist the Scots in the North against us.

* We come now to a third and maine agrivance and injurie done the confederat Catholicks, which was the yealding up of Dublin castel, sword and all to the Parliament, not withstanding that the Queen and Prince sent from Paris a gentleman expresly instructed to his excellencie, to prevent the giving up of these places to the Kings enemies and rather to close up a peace with the Catholicks (the only way then appearing for setling the Kings affaires) this action hath been one of the vglyest things Ormond ever did, to render therfore my reader fully capable of this perfidious proceeding, I shall be obliged to enlarge my selfe therevpon, this will be made cleare out of a discource of the Iorney that the Agent sent from the Qucen and Prince (Mr. Wintergrant a Catholick Gentleman) made himselfe, who came to Ormonde with his letters and instructions before he had given up the castell of Dublin; (the cittie was rendered before to the parliament) the cheefest part of the discource runs thus: "his Majestie being a prisoner at homby, and all negotiation for his deliverance and restablishment

rendered frvitless, it was thought fitt by the Queen and Prince of wales with theyre counsel, that some body should be sent to Ireland with letters and instructions to my Lord of Ormond for settleing of a peace in that Kingdome," for that purpose said Mr. Wintergrant was chosen, and accordingly receaved certain instructions sent by the Queen, all these instructions tended to the settlement of peace between the confederat Catholicks and the King's partie, as appeareth by the express words of the second instruction: "ye shall inform the said Lord Lieutenant how sensible we and the Prince are, of the present troubles, of the kingdom, as well in consideration of the King's affayres in generall, as Particularly out of the apprehension of the great and imminent danger that may thereby happen to those which yet remain under the obedience of him the said Lord Lieutenant, and how desirous we and the Prince are to contribut all that is in our power to reconsile the things in question between the said Lord Lieutenant and the confederate Catholicks of Irland, whereby all of them may be firmely United under the authoritie of our dearest Lord the King and thereby enabled to defend themselves against the common enemie, and seasonably assist the King in his other dominions: he also brought letters to the Lord Nuncio and Romain clergy and to several noble men, and to certaine corporations and citties to be first shewed to Ormond and as he pleased to be delivered or

not delivered, all was left to Ormonds breast, and this Mr. Wintergrant was to pursue all his instructions in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant shall thinke fitt, and in all other things ye shall saith the instruction governe yourselfe according to the advice and orders of the said Lord Lieutenant," In the sixet instruction are these words; "If he the said Lord Lieutenant shall direct ye to repayre to the Lord Nuncio, Assembly, Clergy, or supreme counsel of the Irish nation, or to the General assembly now met at Kilkennie, ye shall vpon all occasions, when your discretion shall think fitt, publish a vow and declare the great inclination which we and the Prince have to contribut effectually all that shall be proper for us and him, to the speedy concluding a happy peace in Irland."

These were one sort of instructions I received saith Mr. Wintergrant, which were not to be kept soe privat but that they were in some cases communicable, but these that follow not soe:

Privat Instructions.

"You shall deliver to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland fourtien blanks now given to your possession by us, and the Prince, two whereof were joyntly signed by us, and the Prince, six others signed by us alone, and the other six by the Prince alone.

"You shall acquaint the Lord Lieutenant that

wee and the Prince doe authoriez and apoint him to fill up all the said blanks in such manner, and to such purpose, and with such contents, as hee shall think most proper for the service of our dearest Lord the King in his Irish affaires, and ye shall assure him the said Lord Lieuteuant that as wee and the Prince repose this trust and confidence in him, that hee shall make use of them as he shall think fitt, for the advancement of the peace in Ireland; soe will both of us at all tymes avow, and justify those instruments soe to be filled up by him as our owne acts, and as don by our owne particular directions, and command; you shall more particularly acquaint the Lord Lieutenant from us, and the Prince, that if in the treaty of peace, or in the conclusion thereof, hee desires to be assisted with any further authority grounded upon any letters sent to him from the kinge or otherwise in our power, then we desire him the said Lord Lieutenant to fill up his blanks signed by us, or the Prince with such authority from us, or from us and the Prince, or from the Prince only in such manner as hee shall finde most proper, and conducing to such a peace.

"You shall likewise particularly acquaint him the Lord Lieutenant, that if hee shall finde it proper for the advancement of the peace there, that your selfe, or your selfe with any others now in Ireland should in our name, and authorised by us, repair to the assembly-General now held at Kilkennie, or the supreme counsel of the

Irish, or to any other body or persons with the overtures of a treaty or any particular, in order to, concerning or conducing to the same; our desire is, and we hereby authorise him the said Lord Lieutenant accordingly that hee should fill up one or more of the said blancks, signed by us in the nature of a commission letter, or instructions with such authority from vs, and in such manner as hee shall think fitt, and that hee would accordingly insert the name of such person or persons as hee shall think fitt to be joyned with you in this Imployment from vs.

"These particulars you are to communicate to none but the Lord Digby, and Lord Clanrikard, unless the Lord Luetenant shall think fit to give you other orders concerning the same.

"Then followeth the Princes approbation of all the instructions of both sortes, with his commaund to put them in execution in these words.

Charles Prince.

"Wee have perused and doe fully approve of your instructions bearing date herwith, and Signed by our Royal Mother; and doe appoint and authorize you soe far as you shall finde vs named therin to put the same in execution."

Charles Prince.

"Wee have perused, and doe fully approve of

your private instructions bearing date herwith, Signed by our Royall Mother, and hierby appoint and authorise you soe farre as you shall finde vs named therin to put the same in execution."

"With these instructions and many letters not only to my Lord Lieutenant Lord Clanrikard, and Lord Digby; but alsoe from the Queen to the Nuncio and Cleargie, to O Nelle and Preston, with all the considerable persons then a mongst the Irish, I parted from Paris a bout the 16. of march 1647. in Companie of my Lord Crafford &c.

"From Nantes I landed at Waterford the 6'th. or 7'th. of Aprill, and yet so vnluckely as the assembly at Kilkennie had brooke vp that night at ten of the Clock, which they would not have done had they first heard of my landing, for soe Mr. Barron, (whoe hath been an Agent hier in France for the confederat Irish) and to whome I sent a post soe soon as I was in waterford, writt back to mee; indeed I was very unfortunat for the Assembly had both power and meanes, to doe or undoe, what they had don in order to a treaty, which the supreme Counsell limited within bounds by the Assembly, afterwards had not.

"Being com to Kilkennie I was by Mr. Barron brought to the Counsell, to whome (after they had caused mee to sitt in a Chaire not farre from my Lord of Antrim theire President nor

woold they heare mee till I had done soe) I delivered the cause of my coming thither, which was the Queen and the Prince his desire of peace in that Kingdom, and for the Queen shee was not only moved unto it for the Kings intrest, but alsoe by a zeale to the Catholick Religion and good of the People.

" The day I came to Dublin I was that night brought to my Lord of Ormond, to whome I delivered such letters as were for him, and then said, that hee was sure those letters expressed civilitys from the Queen and Prince; much better then I could; and that therfore I had nothing more now to say untill I had such instructions disiphered as I had, which were many, and would take vp som good tyme, and by which his Lordship would finde the confidence her Majesty and the Prince had in him, which was soe great, as noe reports could shake, though wee had weekly newes, of his treaty with the Parlament for delivery of those places under his commaund, to which his Lordship replyed, that confidence shall never deceive them, and that hee who had ventured himselfe, his wife, and all his Children in the Kings service, would make noe sample of venturing or casting away one scruple when there shall be cause, (this hee spook because one of his sons was then hostage with the Parlament,) yet if there be necessity hee should give up those places under his commaund, hee would rather give them to the English Rebells,

then to the Irish Rebells, of which opinion hee thought every good Englishman was; to this I replyed nothing."

Ormond having seen and perused these premises, and now spooken of instructions, I demaund in this place, what his grace can aleage for himselfe, that can excuse his backwardness in satisfying the resonable and just demaunds of the confederat Catholicks? Hee cannot say hee wanted power and authority for concluding a peace with them, seeing hee might insert in the papers of 14 blancks what conditions, what Articles hee pleased himselfe, the Queen and Prince being resolved To owne and justify the same as theire Royall act and deed; Further, hee had from his Majesty a great latitude of power, to compass such a peace as the Queen and Prince (then) desired, (notwithstanding the rejection of the peace, of 46, as is to be seen, by the Kings Letter to Ormond Februarii 27th 1647. in these words, page 258, of *Reliquiæ Carolinæ*,

Ormond.

The impossibility of preserving my Protestant subjects in Irland, by a continuation of warr, having moved me to give you the power and directions; which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same proving dayly much more Evident, that alone were reason Enough for mee, to enlarge your powers, and to make any commands in the point more

positive, but besides these considerations, being now manifest that the English rebells have (as farre as in them lyes) given the command of Irland to the Scotts, that theire ayme is at a total subversion of Religion and real Power, and that nothing less will content them or purchase peace. Heer I think my self bound in conscience, not to let slip the meanes of settling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience, never to loose that assistance, which I may hope from my Irish subjects for such samples as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be struck at by mee for theire satisfaction; I doe therefore command you to conclude a peace, with the Irish, whatever it cost, soe that my Protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved; but for all this you are to make for mee the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargment of power, till ye needs must, and though I leave the management of this great matter, and necessary worke intirely unto you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poyning's act for such bills as shall be agreed upon between ye there, and the present taking away the penal laws against Papists, by a law will doe it; I shall not think it a hard bargaine, soe that freely and rigorously they engage themselves in any assistance against my rebells of England and Scotland, for which noe conditions can be hard, not being "against conscience or honour."

Can there be any thing clearer then these expressions? can there be a larger commission given, or a more streighter commaund layd on Ormond for compassing speedily a peace with the Irish Catholicks, then what is repeated heer? can Ormond pretend hee wanted power to conclude a peace, or the King a willingness to have it done; his Majestyes intentions, desires, and solicitations to that effect, are vrged in these words, "what ever it cost soe my Protestant subjects may be secure, and Royal authority;" there is nothing soe certaine (securing Catholicks Religion) then that wee desired, and vnanimously minded to secure the Kings intrest and prerogative and to help him to our power, and not to molest or trouble any of his Protestant subjects, if not provoked by themselues therevnto; take notice in this place of his royall assent, to a Suspension of Poynings act for such bills as should be agreed vpon betwixt Ormond and us, and the takeing away the penal Lawes against us, neither did hee think it a hard bargin "soe wee freely and vigorously engaged our selves in his Royall service against his Rebells of England and Scotland," and says, "noe conditions can be to hard, soe this be don, and that in performing it nothing is against conscience, and honour;" heer you may observe the distinction his Majesty makes at that tyme betwixt his Catholick subjects of Irland, and those his Protestant Rebells of England, and Scotland, his Majesty, (whose intrest it was,

and the only Iudge of that fact, to aprove, or disaprove us as such,) gave each according his desert, calling us his Irish subjects, and those of England and Scotland his Rebels, yet Ormond in his conference with Mr. Wintergrant, calls us otherwise, (euen Rebels as those of England and Scotland were,) adding therevnto that if there were necessity to give vp those places vnder his command, vnto any of the three nations, hee would rather make them over to his English rebels then to his Majestys faithfull Irish subjects; of which opinion hee thought every good Englishman was: to which expression, Mr. Wintergrant (a Roman Catholick and a person who had a better opinion of theire conscience, then Ormond) replyed nothing.

By the prefated expressions of Ormond, you see how hee declared himselfe for an Englishman, and being the Kings Lieutenant in that Kingdome, hee showed himselfe only exteriourly for the King, but interiourly a right Parlamentier, as by his severall open disobediences and distructive delays to the King, Queen, and Princes orders and instructions, (as to the hastning of the Irish peace) is manifested; such a one in effect I must confess, his darling Orrery would have him to be, by all attributes, of Religion, breeding, person, speech, dispossitions, by his Lady and children, and predecessors (though Irish, and well skild in the Irish speech, and of 480. yeares and more standing in that

country) would to God Orrery had gotten his wish in this, and that his Ormond had been of two sydes an Englishman, and that our Country, and Countrymen had never knowne Ormond, Orrery, or Orrerys father: were it soe, things had gone far better with vs, and with the country; you see how this Statsman makes noe difference between the confederate Catholicks, and the Rebells of Scotland, and England, whoé got vp in actuall Armes against the King, who bought and sould him & had him close Prisoner at the same tyme, these words were spoken by Ormond: can Ormond produce such an oath of association (made, and agreed vpon by the Parliamentary party) to maintaine the Kings prerogatives, rights, person and Royall interest, as wee have made and set forth vnto the world? vpon all occations, and in all places, even in the lowest ebb of his Majestys affaires, wee spoke with veneration and respect of his sacred person, when they in pulpits, streets, banks, and theaters, in their privat meetings and Counsels disdainfully violated his sacred person, and persued him even in theire new books, as you may see in the Heu! and Cry! of Mercutius Britanicus, ridiculously set forth in this forme.

"If any man can bring tale and tydings of a wilfull King, which hath, wilfully gon a stray from his Parliment with a guilty conscience, bloody hands, hart full of broaken vowes, and

protestations, if these marks be not sufficient, there is another in the mouth, for bid him speak and you will soon know him, then giue notice to Britanicus, and you shall be well payd for your paines; God saue the Parliment."

These and such like scurrilous disrespects, to his Royall person would be theire quotidian pastime, yet our good Ormond was pleased to list vs in the ranke and cathalogue of those rediculous prophaine Rebells. His Vncle, and his Brother-in-law, the two prefated Viscounts, and the rest of his affected frinds, would hardly believe (had an Angel affirmed it) that Ormond would harbour soe hard a thought of the confederate Catholicks, whom hee knew full well in his hart to be good, faithfull, and zealous subjects. Now notwithstanding all these instructions, and the Kings letter before mentioned, with all the instances Mr. Wintergrant could make, (which were done with a great deal of care and judgment) notwithstanding the accommodation (which I shall insert heere) sent by the confederate Catholicks to Ormond, notwithstanding all this I say, hee yeilded up to the Kings enemys the Castle of Dublin, the sword, and all, in which and by which action, hee discovered his hatred to the confederate Catholicks, his affection to the Parliament, his disrespect, and manifest disobedience to the Kings orders and commands, and to those of the Queen and Prince. Neither

wanted Ormond (as some men did think) his hidden reasons that moved him to neglect soe much, and sleight the Royall authority.

His Logick made him discourse thus secretly with himselfe: the King is prisoner to his Parliament, and noe hopes left for his redemption, hee is like to perish there; the Queen alsoe and the young Prince they are exiled, what can they doe? They are not able to help themselves, much less to procure any forraigne assistance for his Majesty: the Parliment of England, with Crumwell have drawne all England to their owne side with Scotland, and a great part of Irland, as the large province of Ulster, where the Scot insulted, and that part of Munster, where Insequin with his Army remained under obedience of the Parliment: my best way then will be (quoth Ormond) to play my owne game the best, and make good use of the tymes; I will therefore appeare exteriourly for his Majesty, and yet oblige the Parliment in yielding up to them the Castle of Dublin, with the Kings sword and all the faire county of Dublin, rather than keep it and take part with the Irish, (and this I will doe notwithstanding the Queen and Princes orders and commands to the contrary) for I may well feare, the Irish Catholicks and I (though joyned with them) will be at long running mastered by the Parliment; who will be mindfull of mee in due tyme for soe necessary and frindly an action. And truly it fell out so, for though they showed

noe personal favour to Ormond, they showed great kindness to his Lady allowing her three thousand pound starling for her joynter (as above said) and Crumwells children were not less frindly to her children, and all this kindness hath been done them, by all liklyhood in recompensation of Ormonds giving up the cittie, castle, and county of Dublin to the Parliment.

Projects of Policy are deep and secret, and likly this act of Ormond was the Policy and wisdom the Lord Digby meant, when hee sayd to Mr. Wintergrant, that the Lord of Ormond was wiser, then to unite with the Irish Catholicks. But in the meane tyme what became of his Loyalty? Of his great zeal to his Majestys interest? Of his obedience to the Royall commands, and to the orders, and instructions of the Queen and Prince? Herein the King was sleighted, the Queen and Prince put by, who as they held the preserving of Dublin, the castle therof and country about it, to be the Kings great interest, and beneficiall for his Majesty, soe alsoe they did think the delivering up of all to the Parliment would prove a very great loss, and destruction to his Royall intrest; for preventing of which loss, and mischief, orders, commands, instructions, and all power were sent from Queen and Prince by Mr. Wintergrant to perclose a peace with the confederate Catholicks at what price soever.

If the neglect committed herein by Ormond

(sleighting the Royal powers and authority, a clear argument of disobedience to him in both) hath redounded to the utter overthrow of the Catholicks, and Kingdom, and consequently of his Majesty' intrest therin; you my reader may judge, or any other Impartiall Iudgment?

CHAPTER XVII.

The accommodation sent by the confederat Catholicks to Ormond Lord Lieutenant for preserving of the Cittie, and Castle of Dublin with the lands about it, rejected by him, and the reasons given by him for such rejection.

GENTLE Reader, heer before I give you the accommodation presented, and offered by the Confederate Catholicks, vnto Ormond, I think it necessary to give you first, the sound observation of an vnderstanding and discreet Member (made vpon the same accommodation) of the said confederate Counsell of Catholicks, which shall serve you as a guiding light to the clearer vnderstanding how the matter was carried on, which was word to word as followeth.

That the late Articles of pacification con-

cluded with the Lord Marquis of Ormond Anno 1646. Being rejected by the generall assembly with an vnanimous consent, by reason the Lord Marquis of Ormond did not grant those conditions vnto which hee was authorized by his Majesty, and for that the King was brought vnto a condition incapable at present to performe any thing that was granted, and for that there was noe security in them for Religion or Nation, and the insecurity not com to the knowledg of the confederats, vntill after the late pacification was published; the late generall assembly in the begining of March last, Imployed Mr. Giffery Barron som tyme before Imployed in France, and Mr. Gerrald Fennell, both persons of great trust, vnto the said Marquis with the inclosed heads or Overtures of an accommodation to continue vntill his Majesty were in a free condition to grant honourable and safe conditions vnto the confederats, and the said Marquis after receiving the said Overtures by vertue of a letter of Credence from the said Mr. Barron and Mr. Fennell returned answer to the assembly, that hee would send his answers by messengers of his owne, first giving great hopes vnto those Imployed by the assembly, that hee would never Ioyne with the Parliment.

"The assembly expecting this answer for one and twenty days received it not to the hazard, and very great charge of the Kingdom; his Lordship in the interim treated with the Par-

liment Commissioners, and the assembly fully possessed with a beliefe that his Lordship would never conclude with the Parliment, a few days before the adjournment sent Theobald Butler Major of Hors in the Catholick Army to his Lordship, to know the cause which might retard or stay his Lordships answer soe long, and soe much expected; at whose coming thither the said Marquis (having as it seemes concluded with the Parliment, delivered hostages vnto theire Commissioners, Viz. his sonne the Lord Richard Butler, and the Lord Dyllon, the Earle of Roscomon a considerable Peere, and native of this Kingdom, Collonell Arthur Chischester sonne and haire of the Lord Viscount Chischester, and Sr. Iames Ware Knight, a person of consideration with him, and of the Privie Counsell) hier vpon the said Lord Marquis tould the said Major Butler, that hee would never propound anything to the confederate Catholicks that was in theire power to deny him."

The Assembly receiving this answer soe much tending to the Kings disservice, by which the hopes of an accommodation was frustrated, they being solemnly sworne to endeavour an accommodation with him, (which were consistent with Loyalty and Catholick Religion) on the fourth currant adjourn'd it selfe vntill the 12'th of November next; soone after Monsieur Tallone, and Monsieur Munnery Residents to the King of

France arrived heer, and being with vs at the Counsell declared that most of theire bussiness hither was to solicit an accommodation tending Chiefly to the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and wee did on all occations declare our willingness and rediness to effectuate the same, and after severall Iourneys made by the said Monsieur Tallone to Dublin, wee did condescend to enlarge the Cessation at first agreed vpon to the 17'th of April, which was performed. And after condescended, that in case good and particulare hopes were demonstrated unto us, wee would out of zeal to our liege Lord the King, and in our great expectation of the interposition by them promised of the Crowne of France, embrace a Cessation for six monthes, soe that in the interval the Lord Marquis would accept noe Parliment forces into any of the Garrisons under his command, and give good assurance for his performance therein; whereupon Monsieur Tallone repaired to Dublin, and brought unto us his Lordships absolute denyall of Cessation for more than three weekes, unto which wee could not condescend, in regard wee had just and pregnant courses of feares, that the said Lord Marquis did but seek that short Cessation in expectation of forces from the Parliment, (whereof we had well grounded intelligence from London and otherwise;) and his Lordship having during the treaty with us received men from the Parliment into Dublin, and others his Garrisons, and wee

having understood that his Lordships reason for not granting a Cessation for the six monthes propounded, was that thereby all hopes of his agreement with the Parliment had bin taken away, and that then of necessity hee must throw himselfe on our party, before hee could fairly fall of from the Parliment, which, whether hee can doe or noe, the delivery of the hostages and theire quality, and the forces by him allready received, and the dayly expectation hee hath of more, and the late propositions by him sent to the Parliment (which if assented unto by the Parliment, hee declared himselfe to stick unto them) being considered it may be easily judged wherein the Impediment to an accommodation lyeth.

Adding to the premises for the more clear understanding of our real desires to entertaine an accommodation with the Lord Marquis of Ormond, for preserving and continuing the places under his Majestys obedience, which his Lordship holdeth, that since our propositions sent him, to put his Lordship in minde of an accommodation, hee did neither by message or otherwise authorise any to treat further with us there upon, but utterly sleighted that treaty, by which wee had noe encouragement given us to listen to a cessation, which in itselfe was noe way profitable to the affaires of the Confederate Catholicks, for the reasons affore-said, other then in order to the hopes wee might have of an accommodation,

the coppy of which propossitions is hierwith sent.

Besides the motives afforesaid, wee have it by assured and certaine intelligence, that the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath already concluded with the Parliment, and hath upon confidence of prevailing for a short cessation with us, assured them that hee would hould what hee enjoyeth untill the month of May, expecting then the Parliment of England theire Supplys.

Overtures for an accommodation delivered by Doctor Gerrald Fennell, and Geffrie Barron Esquires from the Generall assembly of the Confederate Catholicks to the Lord Marquess of Ormond in March 1647.

1. That each party should continue theire respective government independant of each other, within such quarters, as by the accommodation shall be agreed on, until a peace.

2. That both should joyne in a warre, both by sea and land against the Enemys of his Majesty, and this Nation, and that neither party shall make Peace, Cessation or other Agreement, or entertaine any Commerce or Trafick with the said Enemys without the consent of each other untill a peace.

3. That Dublin and other Garrisons in your Lordships quarters may be secured against the said Enemie.

4. That the Confederat Catholicks within the quarters, that by this accommodation shall be agreed upon to be left to your Lordship, shall be secured of the free enjoying of their Religion, lives, Estates, and libertys.

5. The like for all other Catholics in the said quarters.

6. That your Lordship shall permitt none to live within your quarters, but such as will swear to the performance and accommodation.

7. That your Lordship shall enjoy the profitts of your Estates in the quarters of the Confederate Catholicks, paying such contributions out of it, as the said Confederats shall doe out of theires.

8. That the Confederats will contribut to the maintenance of your Lordships Charge, by reason of your place in a Competent way.

Could there be any accommodation thought on, more profitable to the King, more considerable to the Queen and Prince his expectation, and more advantagious to Ormond himselfe, (who therby had the rents of a great part of his Estate, of that I meane, that laid within the Catholick quarters) then this? Let any indifferent conscientious man tell mee if any thing could be more Loyall, or laying forth our great affection to our King in the distressed state hee then

was in, then this? Heer you have Ormonds answer to said accommodation, sent by Mr. Wintergrant vnto the supreme Counsell the 10'th of may 1647.

The answers were as followeth.

The two first propositions are such, as apeare fitter to be treated in a League offensive and defensive between neighbouring Princes, then between his Majestys governour of a Kingdom, and his subjects of the same declined from theire obedience, with whome it is inconsistent with his Majestys Lieutenant to ioyne otherwise, then by their returne to theire obedience, and submission to his Majestys Authority.

2. To, the third. When they are thus returned to theire obedience, and have submitted to his Majestys authority, it will then be seasonable, to consider of securing the Garrisons.

3. The fiue other propositions are such as may be fitt to be considered in case of a sessation, which, when they shall propose vnto vs, wee shall take it into our consideration, and give such answers thervnto as shall be reasonable.

You see the nature and condition of this answer. Ormond would not com to any accommodation with the Confederate Catholicks, because they were (as hee saith) declined from theire obedience, vntill they had returned againe to theire former obedience and submission to his

Majestys Authority; yet the very same tyme the same Ormond treated publickly of a peace with the Parliment party (a peace is of a higher nature then an accommodation) open and knowne Rebels to the King, and who had his Majesty at the very same tyme theire close prisoner, and not only treated with those rebels, but even yielded up to them the Cittie of Dublin, the Castle, sword, and all appertaining thervnto.

Ormond gave to the confederate Catholicks and their propositions of an accommodation the answer, hee should have given the Parliment party, hee should have said to their commissioners (with whome hee then treated) that it was not consistent with his Majestys Lieutenant to treat with them, untill they had set his Majesty at full liberty, laid downe Armes, restored to the King his Townes, Forts, and Navy, acknowledging theire obedience and sworne aleagence unto him. This hee did not, but perclosd a peace with them as above was said. If this his acting, (when hee could have preserved the Kings Cittie and intrest from his enemys by an accommodation with the Confederate Catholicks, as the King had commaunded, and the Queen and Prince ordered by theire express instructions sent to him by Mr. Wintergrant) can be excused from treason, let any indifferent man judge.

Soe much I thought fitt to mention of Mr. Wintergrant his Imployment, of the Queen and Princes orders and instructions for concluding a

peace with Irish Catholicks, and of the Kings express commaunds to Ormond to the same purpose, of the diligence of Monsieur la Munnerie, and Monsieur Tallone to that effect in the name of the French King theire Master, as alsoe of the Articles of the aforesaid accommodation most advantagious to the Kings intrest offered by his subjects the Confederate Catholicks.

Put all these together my gentle reader, and then judge if Ormond hath not showed himselfe (transacting with the Parliment) disobedient to the Kings commaunds, and to those of the Queen and Prince, an Enemie to the Catholicks of Irland, and a frind to the usurping Parliment.

I now pass to a great and irreparable injury don to the whole Nation by his Grace (a graceless action) the excluding of all the Catholicks of Irland from the benefitt of the general pardon and indemnity, granted to all his other subjects, of what Religion soever.

CHAP. XVIII.

How, and by whome, were the Catholicks of Irland excluded from the benefit of generall pardon.

CERTAINE it is, that the King intended the pardon and act of Indemnity as well for the Catholicks

of Irland, as for those of England, and the rest of his subjects, which is made cleare and evident by his Majestys speech in favour of the Irish Catholicks, in the house of Peeres, July 27th 1660. "I hope (said the King) I need not put you in minde of Irland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy, they have showne much affection to mee a broad, and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them.

Could the Kings intention of the benefitt of pardon and his mercy to the Irish Catholicks be spooken in more cleare and noble expressions? but this Ormond (to his Eternall infamy be it said) hath cruelly opposed, in propounding a wicked and cunning proviso in the house of Peeres, which theire Lordships thought would have satisfyd us, and soe have just past it by: by this perfidious fraud of Ormond, wee have been exempted from the benefitt of the Indemnity. This is the grace Ormond (Peter Walsh his saviour of the Irish Nation) hath don us, for which the malledictiion of God will likely fall upon him and his posterity.

After being excluded from the generall pardon, Ormond, Clarindon, Orrery, Cloathworthy, and the rest of that holy Synagog put theire heads together for drawing up a Bill of Settlement of the Kingdoms of Irland, (soe powerfull they weare in cheating his Majesty as hee gave them his ordinance for conceiving said

Bill of Settlement, and their owne Secretary had the penning of it.) By the artifice of those great men, and force of that Bill wee have lost for ever our Lands, Estates, and the liberty of free born subjects. This Bill is of an Immens Bulck, fraght with faire Language and barbarous contents and proceedings. (They call it the Kings most gratious Declaration for the Settlement of Irland:) This monstrous Bulck with all its substance therin, hath bine reduced into few heads by a learned Laeyer as followeth.

The substance and sens of the vast bill of settlement.

1. By the late act of Parliment made for the settlement of Irland, all that might pretend to be free from the guilt of the late Commotion are concluded from being heard, and theire estates disposed for the most part, to such of the English as served the Vsurper Cromwell against his late and now Majesty.

2. Those, who submitted to the peace concluded by his late Majestys Authority in the yeare 1648, are by the said act debarred from the benefitt of the articles concluded in, and by the same peace, and the publick faith then given denyed them, as hath bine already decree'd.

3. Innocents are secluded from being restored to theire houses in Corporations, a few excepted,

whoe were restored to their houses by his Majestyes Letters.

4. Catholicks are not suffered to have theire freedom in Corporations, or liberty of traficke.

5. The Lords and other Catholicks, whoe had presentations of benefices, are secluded from the benefit of theire said Privileges, except they becom Protestants.

6. All the Nobility and gentry, that submitted to said Peace of 48. and put themselves to vast charges and expences in raising troopes, and Regiments of Horse and foote, to serve his Majesty against the Usurper, have lost their Estates, and their Lands settled upon those, who made the Vsurpers quarrell theire owne, and fought vnder him against the King and his Catholic subjects of Irland; and not only that, but are alsoe excluded from all Imployments in the Kings service, or Common wealth, except they renounce theire Faith.

By these meanes they are brought to great distress, want of Creditt, Livelyhood, and reliefe, *Nil nisi vota supersunt.*

A short Ponderation upon these Branches.

1. Never was pronounced from the begining of Christianity, to this day, a more vnjust and wicked sentence against Christians then have been by this act, which beares the name of the Kings most gratious Declaration, for the settlement of Irland.

2. What can there be more cruell, more vnjust, more impious, then to hinder one to answer for himselfe, and prove himselfe Innocent; what more against the law of nature? What can there be more iniquous, and unworthy of kingly piety, then to conferre the loyall subjects Estates vpon open knowne Rebells? What more sacred then publick Faith? What more infamous then the violation of the same? For which in all tymes, dreadfull punishments have befalne the Violatours.

3. Can there be any thing more Barbarous and against Iustice, then to turne an Innocent out of his owne house and right inheritance?

4. The Christians in Constantinople, and other the Dominions of the Turck; are dealt with farre better, and with more moderation then the Catholicks of Irland, whome those Statsmen have excluded from all Commerce; which the very Turcks doe grant vnto theire Christians.

5. Men must renounce theire Religion, the Basis of salvation, or loose theire Advousins, a cruell Impious Tye vpon Catholick patrons, but each of them will answer, *Non Emam tanti pœnitere.*

6. Heer you see Rebellion rewarded, and Loyalty punished, a preposterous and monstrous kinde of Iustice; Behold O bountifull God this theire portentous and Impious iniquity. Now I see afflicted Countrimen you may ramble up and downe the world, and loudly raise your voyce

and say *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo & Angelis, & hominibus.* "Wee are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, and to men." Could there be more formal Iniquity, then to devest Innocent true subjects of theire estates and liberty, and conferre the same upon those fought against the King and Crowne? was it not a pretious knavery of these Statsmen, to perswade the King to such Impiety as this?

What shall I think or say of these Statsmen, contrivers of this great wickedness? Even that which Salvianus the good Bishop of Missilia, said of the Lieutenants and Prefects of the Provinces, *Magistratus*, (quoth hee) *Et Provinciarum præfecti Statuunt non furandum, et agunt ipsi latrociniæ, puniunt rapinam cum ipsi sint Maximi raptores; puniunt expoliatores domorum, cum ipsi suit expoliatores provinciarum; tantimo as adoptus honor dat beneficii, ut semper habeant jus latrocinandi.*

"The rulers and commaunders of Cittys and Provinces, ordaines a law that none shall steal, and yet they themselves play the theefe; they punish rapine, and yet they themselves are great snatchers; they punish plunderers of houses, & themselves are the robbers and plunderers of intyre provinces; for this they have of benefitt by the honour obtained, that they can always robb and plunder with authority. This have bine the liberty our præfated Statsman have assumed to themselves, and without question theire malice must be deeply polished, when they could perswade, deceive and

delude a King stiled (the King of mercy and pardons) to give his Royall assent and approbation to the forementioned Act of Settlement, an unspeakable, and an unheard Justice, *Pregentes viperarum quis domonstravit vobis fugere a ventura Joa facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentiæ.*" Matth. cap. 3. v. 8. "Ye breed of vipers who hath shewed you to fly from the wrath to come, yeild therefore fruict—worthy of penance." I am hiere compelled to cry with the Prophet Jeremy with teares and sighs to God. "Remember O Lord what is falne to us, behold and regard our reproach, our inheritance is turned to aliens, our houses to strangers." Lament. cap. 5.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of all these Usurpers who hath used most Artifice and Perfidie ?

It is by this made evident, that all of them used much cunning and cruelty in compassing the worke of Catholick Irelands destruction ; but Ormond hath surpassed them all ; take my reason, Orrery, Cloathworthy, and all of the holy Cromwelian crew have don noe less or more then wee expected from them, when they should be able to do us a mischief ; at longe running they had power to doe it ; and they have egrediously don

it, and boasting in that sinn, they tell us, they have in our Tragedy acted their owne part, that of enemys; and wee must confess they have not deceived us in trust, haveing never trusted them.

Clarindon hath been but a stranger to our nation, wee first knew this crooked man in his, and our exile, and though we have don him good service, hee was evermore our Enemy, and pay'd benefitts don him with Injurys, as men of his nature use to doe; in a word hee was a man (as all that knew him will say) would for gold sell away the sonne of God himselfe, and for gold he hath sold us and justice.

But Ormond the greatest Nobleman now of our Nation, in whome all the Nobility in generall, and the generality of the people repos'd (a speciall confidence hath betrayed that trust, a black staine of infamy upon a great Peere descended from soe Catholick and Noble Ancestors). Hee hath not proved (as wee expected) a pillare and prop to his Nation, but a brused rotten Reed of Egypt, deserting us in tyme of tryall, and joyning with all our Enemys, that thirsted after our lives and possessions. It is true, we are not our selves without some blame in the ruins of our Fortunes and Country, our sinne in our unadvised trust in Ormond, which made the way easy for him to deceive us; wee have not bine wary, and mischief entreth at the open gates of security, Ormond came upon us in that kinde; wee had most of us frindly harts for him, and we tooke his

hart to be such to us. *Per maximam amicitiam maxima fallendi copia.* (Salust. Jugurth.) In fine wee have bine lost, because wee did not feare his crafty ways and dealings: but let him consider well, what annalls and posterity will say of him for having betrayd us in this nature; certainly hee hath don more unworthily than if hee had oppressed us by open violence: *Quia fraus fædiors quam aperta violentia.*

After this feate of distruction don upon us, at which nations abroad are amaized, and abhorr the actors, (and wonder much our King that spake soe much good of us *In facie solis*, gave us up sacrifices to our Enemys without all protection of our Innocency) what doe these gallant Usurpers? Doe they relent, or doe they feare the revenging hand of God? it seemes noe: but that they rather looke like men left only to make up the number of those the Holy Ghost speaks of.

"*Cum (said they) and let vs enjoy the good things that are, let vs fill our selves with pretious wine and Oyntments, and let not the flower of the tyme pass vs, let vs Crowne our selves with Roses before they wither; Every where let vs leave signes of joy, because this is our portion, and lott; let vs opress the poore Iust man, and not spare the Widow, but let our strength be the law of Iustice, for that which is weake is found vnprofitable." Have not I beseech

* Wisdome the 2. Chap.

you the doeings of those oppressed the afflicted Innocent Irish, been the very same doeings of those the Holy Ghost speakes of, living and pampering themselves in great feastings, sensuality, pomps, vanitys, pride, and pleasures? They seem by theire life and manners to be Athists, ('of that Tribe many these days liue in Courts) and if they are realy soe, they will Enjoy the purchases they have made by Robbery, without any vnquietness of minde, for what should they feare, that owne noe God or puissance to punnish, and reward, sin and vertue. But if they truly beleeve in God, it is Impossible they can Enjoy wrongfully the Lands and livings of the Innocent, that perrish for want of them, without som disquietness of Conscience, and apprehensions of the Iust Iudgments of God to fall upon them. Those men cannot want some of Caine's feares, who after having killed his brother Abel had never quietness or rest of minde, but was still tormented with seuerall feares in hart and tremblings in his head, soe that this unfortunate bloody man terrefy'd and frighted at his owne action, cry'd out a low'd to God. *Ecce Eijcis me hodie a facie terra, & a facie tua abscondar, Et ero vagus & profugus in terra, omnis igitur, qui me invenerit, occidet me.* "Loe then doth cast mee out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shal I be hid; and shall be a vagabond, and fugitive on earth, every one therefore that findetb mee, shall kill

mee. The spilling of Innocent Abels blood made him feare all would kill him, and therefore allways trembling, he feared men, and fled from men, and though the Lord have putt a marke on Caine, that whosoever found him, should not kill him, (a trembling in his head as many hold) Caine was allways frighted, and soe distracted, as to hold that trembling of his head, for a signe given by God that hee should be killed. You see by this how great is the feare and frightning of a guilty Conscience. And can these men live without being frightned after killing soe many Innocent Abels by nakedness, vermin, famin, and all kinde of miserys, having taken from them all they had in the world. There have been many opulent persons and of great quallity, Yea and som of them Peeres and Lords of the Realme have bin lodg'd in small smooking Hutts and Cabins, and as I may well say buried there, and starued to death with their wives and Children. Can the Cruell Robbers of these men live without the feare of Gods anger? If they have not a trembling in the head as Caine had, likely they will have a trembling in their harts.

CHAPTER XX.

The Author speaks to Ormond a lone.

But my Lord that I may returne to your Grace (whose house I have ever honoured,) and spend a few words with you alone. Amongst Birds and Beasts (you know full well) som are Noble, and som Ignoble; Lyons begett Lyons, and Eagels ingender Eagels; your ancient house hath given of both Lyons, and Eagels. Your Noble progenitors, nobly minded did worthy things, and performed great matters, the poorest neighbour liu'd safly neare them, possessing quietly what was his owne, they succoured the distressed, and farre it was from them to oppress the weakest; but have been a propp to such as could not stand by themselves; and for such worthy doings, the afection and blessing of those releeved by them, and supported by them in theire right and just causes, have followed your Ancestors: But my Lord the world speakes otherwise of your Grace, that being extolled to the title of Duke (that your house had not before) you digenerate from the true piety and greatness of your brave Ancestors, for the natives ouer all the Kingdome complaine that your power is Imploy'd to the oppression of all, wherfore they all cry out, can not the Duke of Or-

monds greatness stand without our fall and ruin, Is it possible my Lord that this title of greatness is soe much increased in you, and that of vertue deminished?

My Lord the Lyons of your house (I meane the noble Earles) did praye openly and fairly, but your game is of a new forme; you are a Lyon of a nother nature, then was one of the greatest Earles) of your house (by name black Thomas Granfather to your Lady) a person highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, King James and the Counsells of England and Irland, and of the people of both Kingdoms, hee made noe purchases by distroying the natives of the Kingdom, as yours are, yet hee was both a happy and glorious Earle, hospiciously noble, and had many depending of his bounty and good nature, who made noe small fortune by him.

Nahum the Prophet, if you will take the paynes to read him, will tell you what kind of Lyon you are; "where is (saith hee) the habitation of Lyons? and the pasture of Lyons whelpes? The Lyon hath caught (saith hee) sufficiently for his whelpes, and hath killed for his Lyoness, and hath filled his Denns with forage and his couch with Ravening," O, Ormond, Ormond thou hast caught "sufficiently for thy whelps, thou hast filled thy Dens with praye, and thy couch "with Ravening, thou hast made the noble house of Ormond an infamous Denn and couch of Rapine; thy whelps are made fatt with praye and booty upon thy neighbours.'

My Lord, there is a nother Prophet speakes to your Grace, and to Orrery and the rest of the usurpers, in words able to make you tremble: "Woe to him" (said Habacuc cap. 2.) that ga thereth naughty Avarice to his house that his nest may be on high, and thinketh hee is delivered out of the hand of Evil, thou hast thought confusion to the house, thou hast cutt in sunder many people, and thy soule hath sinned, because the stone out of the wall shall cry, and the Timber that is between the Juncturs of the buildings, shall answer, wo to him that buildeth a citty in blouds, and prepareth a citty in Iniquitys." A dreadful expression.

Have not you my Lord and the rest of your Complices cutt insunder many familys; most of them er this consumed with hunger and Miserys are gon into the other world, and for such of them that live as yet, they are miserably perishing at home and abroad, will not the blood of those be layd at your doore? Your ambition have built nestes in a high place from the reache of human hands, but not from the hand of God, who with the breathe of Indignation will caste them all downe in his good tyme; yee have houses and magnificent palaces for your posterity in Blouds, and the stone out of the wall shall cry out against you, and the Timber between the Junctures of your buildings shall answer, "Woe to them that builded cittys in bloud prepared houses in Iniquitys;" God in a moment (though

at present yee glory and tryumph in your greatness and pleasures) can fill your houses with dissolations, mournings, Ignominy, death, feare, and trembling: And perhaps will doe it, when you least think of it.

When Sr. Ralph Fan was condemned to dye by the practices of the Duke of Northumberland, and brought to the place of Execution, in protestation of his Innocency, spook only these two words, "My blood shall be the Dukes bolster as longe as hee shall live."

My Lord you may have (I feare) many of these uneasy bolsters: cast therefore an eye upon the other world (whilst God mercifully gives you tyme to doe it,) and take that care now for yourselfe, that noe other will, once you are gon, and persuade your selfe, that without this care all is lost and gon for all eternity.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ormond seriously advised to think of longe Eternity.

My Lord, God did forbid the Hebrues to mingel honey in the oblations, but commaunded them to use salt in every sacrifice, "what sacrifice soever thou offerest, thou shalt season it with salt, neither shalt thou take a way the salt of

the Covenant of the God from thy sacrifice. In every oblation thou shalt offer salt." What mistery doth this signify to banish honey from the sacrifice and make use of salt? Why salt in sacrifice and not honey? This is to tell us that sweet things deceive vs, and that flatterers betray vs, but sharp things cure vs, and mortify the body and minde when wee are to Sacrifice both to God, and that wee are to heare patiently and willingly those, that speak trueth without assentation, and with the salt of sencerity. * God himselfe sayd, "My people they that the blessed, the same deceive thee." But a lass it is now in fashion that Princes and great men are deceived, because those about them will not speak a trueth, that theire Masters will not willingly heare. It is a great question with mee, if any one of your numerous family, or of all those that depend vpon you, and gaine much by you, or of all those, that seem to be your frinds, will say to your Grace the language and words of the Prophet Isai. † "Our Lord shall com to Iudgment with the Antients of his people, and his Princes, for you have destroyed the vynyard, and the spoyle of the poore is in your house. Why doe you consume my people, and gryn'd the faces of the poore, saith our Lord the God of Hostes?" I doe not think any of them hath spooken to your Grace in this kinde, though they know well the

* Isai, cap. 3. † Isai, cap. 3.

spoyle of the poore is in your house, and that you and many more powerfull men have Grynded the faces of the poore and destroy'd and consum'd them; wherfore you and they have reason to feare, that God will soon com to Iudgment with you, vnless you will tymly prevent it.

Wise men should chase away from them flatterers, as wee doe swallowes for making nests of dung in our dwellings. My Lord flatter not your selfe with the great contentments of this world you Enjoy, vast revenues, great pomp, Copious Retenue, the veneration and low bowing of the people vnto you, Gorgious, atyre, magnificent feastings, all your Iolitys and pleasures; they will all pass a way like smook, and that soon, for they say you begin to be old: those that tells your Grace these things can make you happy, doe but delude you, and you can carry away of all noe more then a winding sheet: it were therfore wisely don to forsake tymly those things, that will forsake, and vndoe vs. And I think truly it would be a great blessing to a person of your greatness and Imployments, that God would strick you with som great affliction and Cross, for it is not easy for those to be wise and holy, whoe see nothing round about them but prosperity, delights, the aplause of men, and all sort of pleasures and sensualitys, and that noe man tells them they are in danger. Alexander the great, in the height of his Glory and victorys suffered men to call him the sonne of Iupiter (it was not Enough for his ambition

to be the sonne of Phillip of Massedon a wise and great King) but wounded with an Arrow in the siege of a Citty hee said to his courtiers and flatterers round about him, **Ecce omnes jurant me esse filium Iovis: sed vulnus hoc me esse hominum clamat.* "Behold all sweare I am the sonne of Iupiter: but this wound proclaimes mee to be a man." Vexation makes vs know Gods greatness and our owne weakness.

When the people of Israel murmoured seditiously against Moyses and Aaron for want of water, God commaunded them both to take the Rodd, and stricke a Rock therwith; and it should give them water. All the tyme Moyses held the Rodd lifted over the Rock and did not stricke, there came noe water, but the Rock being twice strucken with the Rod water flow'd out aboundantly, and the people and theire Cattle did drinck plentifully. The hart of a man is a hard Rock, and will yield noe water of compunction vntill strucken by the hand of God, but when man is smartingly afflicted in his fortunes or health, then hee can weep, and know God and himselfe; it were therfore wholsome and good for your Lordship to receive a great vexation, cross, and contradiction in this world, and soe I confess it should be to mee, that have nothing of contentations and worldly pleasures as you have.

* Senec, Epist. 45.

Remember my good Lord in what a trembling was Ezechias, when the Prophet said to him. * "Take order with thy house for thou shalt dye, and thou shalt not live." Then Ezechias though a holy King in feare cry'd out. *Quis est hic, qui sic humiliat sublimes reges terre?* God hath allready given your grace, a sensible and gratious a-larum, when those desperate Ruffians set vpon you by night and wounded you, haling and abusing you most ignominiously; God in his mercy brought you of from those bloudy men and would not permitt you to be murthered by them, but gave you time to doe penance and dispose your selfe well for the house of death; you can never thank his divine goodness enough for his deliverance; make good use my Lord of this great mercy in duly preparing your selfe for the next world. Wee goe to bedd sound and well, and yet we are not certaine to live till the morning following, many were found dead in theire bedd that parted the night-before merrily and sound from theire frinds; it may bee your case my Lord as well as theirs, and mine alsoe, and to what eternity wee shall com God alone knowes: O Eternity! O Eternity! how little art thou in the harts of men! O fyre burning for all Eternity how little art thou feared!

My Lord I present to your Grace a short but horrible Meditation of Eternity, as this. If the

* Isai, cap. 38.

damned soules could be persuaded that after a hundred thousand millions of yeares theire torments should have an end, that very perswation alone would be a great comfort to them, for then theire sufferings (albeit very longe) at length would com to an end, but otherwise they are perswaded, and assured the revolution of theire paĭnes and flames shall never have an end; (this makes them dispaire and blaspheme the goodness of God.) If this wee beleeve not, where is our faith) And if wee beleeve it where is our Judgment and hart? What madness is it to neglect soe Important a matter as the Eternall salvation of our soule? (without this a thousand worlds are worth nothing) this is the great matter of state, on which wee ought to bestow day and night, all care and deliberation, what rest can wee take by night or by day when this wee sleight?

Harken as yet my Lord (with this I make an end) to the fearfull words afflicted Jobe spake to those came to visit him, "Why then (quoth this Holy man) Doe the Impious live? Are they advanced, and strengthened with riches? theire seed continueth before them, a multitude of Kinsmen and Nephews in theire sight, theire houses be secure and peaceable, and the Rod of God is not upon them" (Job. 21) but did Job make an end hier? noe, but a little after hee says. "Where is the house of the Prince? and where are the Tabernacles of the Impious? Ask any of the way-faring men, and

you shall understand, that hee knoweth the self-same things, because the wicked man is Kept unto the day of perdition, and hee shall be ledd to the day of fury." My Lord, I say, ponder well in your minde these dreadfull speeches of holy and patient Job, and prepare your selfe in tyme (I conjoure you) against this day of fury and perdition.

O Great and gracious God Grant to mee, and this Noble-man, (grant I begg by the pretious Bloud and Sacred wounds of thy deare sonne Jesus) that wee may in Humility, in Teares, and true contrition of hart returne to thee, whose greatness, and goodness we have soe often and grivously offended, (our great misery falls prostrate at the feet of thy great mercy.) Grant to us I beseech thee going out of this miserable and wicked world a Happy, and Holy houre, and that when the Vaile of the Temple shall be lifted up, wee may see you face to face for all Eternity. Amen.

THE END.

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